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IT was rather a rollicking speech that Mr. Lloyd George made at the Lord Mayor of London's banquet the other day. Even its solemner periods were pronounced in a tone of persistent cheer that could not be kept out of the newspaper reports. The Prime Minister was obviously impressed with the fact that Mr. Lloyd George was securely fixed in his heaven and all was right with the world—except, Mr. Lloyd George was forced to admit, for a general orgy of hate that seemed to pervade the international atmosphere, and too many guns on too many Germans, and the existence of that "ludicrous," "impossible," "crazy" creed of bolshevism, and war—he called it war—in Ireland, and labor troubles in England. These things are as clouds on the vast horizon that Mr. Lloyd George cheerfully surveys from his celestial position. And while he shakes a finger at the Germans, and a gun at the Irish, and holds dignified conversations with persons of the bolshevist persuasion who, he realizes, are hardly nice, he keeps his vision untroubled and his soul sweet by contemplating the spectacle of "the greatest empire in the world . . . that empire in the height of its power . . . that empire in the greatest day of its glory." No wonder there were "loud and prolonged cheers" as Mr. Lloyd George sat down.

FORTY-ONE nations have sent their representatives to Geneva to attend the opening session of the Assembly of the League of Nations. It is an imposing gathering. The Hague conferences never brought together so many nations. But there are two profound differences between this assemblage and the meetings at The Hague. Two great nations, Germany and Soviet Russia, are ostracized, uninvited to the meeting; and the little nations enter this conference not with equal rights but as lesser partners in an enterprise bound to the chariot-wheel of the Entente victors. It is this stringent domination of the so-called great Powers which infects the very basis of the League; this, the difficulty of amendment of the covenant, and the unanimity required for important decisions which render the Council of the League as helpless as the old Polish diet in which any one member could veto the decisions of all the others. Article Ten and the six-to-one provisions are harmless compared to this essential fault; and even though the League, to secure the adherence of the United States, should modify those provisions, the chronic disease would not be reached. Meanwhile the League, born as a splendid dream of international peace, is settling down to a task of international clerking which it can do well and which it is well that some such organization should do. But success at settling the Aland Islands question or at regulating cable control, should deceive no one into believing that this is the league to end war for a vision of which men died.

AND so, now after all the tumult and all the shouting have died, and the captains and kings, premiers and presidents have departed, Italy quietly falls heir to Zara, nearly all of Istria, the islands in the Gulf of Quarnero, a strip of land connecting Fiume with Italian territory, a strategic frontier along the north, and a small slice of Dalmatia. D'Annunzio wins his fight—for Fiume will be an "independent state" with boundaries carefully drawn to insure its Italian character and provision made for its possible future annexation to Italy. From the point of view of "self-determination" and "the rights of small nations" the settlement is indefensible; by its terms millions of Slavs will fall under Italian rule. From the point of view of peace it is probably the best settlement that could have been secured; and for better or worse the people of the world are now in a state of mind to welcome peace even at the expense of pure justice. Whether lasting peace can result from the present arrangements is doubtful. The best that can be said is that the Jugoslav delegates accepted them with a good grace, while the Italians displayed skilful diplomacy in emphasizing not their triumph but their "generous sacrifices" and in proposing "minimum terms" which were later modified. Of course, Italy's sacrifices consist only in modifications of the terms of the Treaty of London which still leave Italy great areas of alien territory; while the "minimum terms" proposed during the present conferences at Santa Margherita would have provided the Jugoslav state with an enormous "Slavia Irredenta."

VENIZELOS'S amazing defeat in the Greek elections—amazing because of his complete control of the political machinery, the strict censorship he maintained, and the persecution of his opponents as seditious traitors—closes a stirring chapter in Greek history, and, following close on the heels of the Wrangel debacle, may mean a turning-point in Near Eastern politics. It is too early to give adequate judgment on Venizelos: a fervid Greek patriot,

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imperialist, expansionist, dictatorial, often identifying his country with himself and his own ideas, he has achieved an enormous extension of Greek frontiers at the expense of wars abroad and civil strife at home. Many observers called him the ablest statesman at the Paris Peace Conference. He alone among the spokesmen of the lesser Powers was feared by France and England. If his defeat does indeed mean the return of King Constantine—we hope not—it is a terrific blow to both French and British prestige in the East, for it was Senator Jonnart of France who, with the aid of French marines, engineered the final coup which deposed Constantine and set up Venizelos as virtual dictator of Greece in 1917, while England profited by his campaigns in Asiatic Turkey. If it means abandonment of the footless war in Asia Minor and consolidation of the truly Greek territories which have been returned to their motherland, if it leads to a policy of reconciliation with Greece's northern neighbors, Bulgaria and Albania, the election day will be a red letter day in Balkan and Near Eastern history.

NOW that the sovereign state of South Russia with its leader, Baron Wrangel, has retired in rather bad order to the deck of the French warship Waldeck-Rousseau, it is time to analyze this last ill-fated adventure of French imperialism. The French continental policy received a serious blow when the Russian-Polish peace was signed at Riga and the Russian army was set free to turn on Wrangel. But Poland and France were publicly so busy gloating over the terms of the treaty, that attention was distracted from the almost certain fate of the last White hope. It takes the final success of bolshevik arms to prove how dead the hopes of France must be. With Wrangel gone she will have to seek far for armies to fight her insane battles in the East. Rumania will certainly look askance at the job; even Hungary may think twice. Poland, to be sure, is complacently in possession of her leagues of alien territory, but even the childish imagination of the Polish patriot class can hardly lead it to think that she can keep them. Russia is wholly victorious on the field; her diplomatic defeat at Riga was turned to immediate account. Poland remains to be reckoned with, but the blow to France involved in the defeat of Wrangel means that Poland can no longer count on a bloc of anti-Bolshevik states marshaled under French prestige to support its impossible ambitions. The delegates of the Soviet Government at Riga ought to use their recent victory to force a bloodless revision of the terms of that "Punic peace" with Poland which hands over millions of Russian peasants to a handful of Polish landlords, and attempts, as the London *Nation* has pointed out, to "rebuild the eighteenth century on the ruins of the nineteenth."

SUDRE DARTIGUENAVE, President of the Republic of Haiti, tells the American correspondents in Haiti that the Haiti-American treaty "has been violated and not carried out, because Haiti has been under the oppression of the American Minister and his financial adviser." M. Dartiguenave took office supported by the guns of American marines, and has always been regarded as the most pro-American of Haitians. "Responsible American business men long resident in Haiti," the Chicago *Tribune* tells us, agree that President Dartiguenave has been "constantly hampered by lack of cooperation and by high-handed measures. The island has been governed by a clique of which Minister Bailly-Blanchard is one." Between October, 1919, and October, 1920, United States Marines killed, on an average, three Haitians a day, according to the testimony of Major Turner, brigade adjutant, before the naval board of inquiry, and prior to October, 1919, there are no records sufficiently trustworthy to give any adequate estimate of the number killed. Yet within the same week in which these damning facts appear, Secretary Colby makes public the report of his special investigator, Admiral Knapp, who found the Haitians contented and "grateful." The facts which, when *The Nation* first exposed them, were termed "sensational lies," are being confirmed in sober court testimony almost every day. President Dartiguenave, dissatisfied with the naval board of inquiry, has asked for a full Congressional inquiry; there can no longer be any question that it is needed.

THE Irish sympathizers in this country who tear down and burn British flags and manhandle supposed British subjects, do not serve the cause for which Terence MacSwiney died. They are hoodlums, and their case is one for the police. But the policemen are often conveniently absent or looking the other way. If these episodes recur it should be the earnest endeavor of all true friends of Ireland to hold their misrepresentatives in check; it is the duty of local authorities to grasp the grave issues involved and to lend every effort to protect possible innocent victims and to apprehend the guilty; and it is the part of the British public to understand clearly that these acts of wanton violence have the unqualified condemnation of all right-thinking Americans. As a manifestation, however, of deeper currents of feeling, these recent outbursts are not without ominous significance. The dragon's teeth of violence so long sown in Ireland are growing to strange crops. Unless some speedy adjustment of the Irish question is reached and a return to peace effected, Anglo-American relations will be subjected to increasingly severe strain. It is precisely with the hope of preventing such development, and the extension of what Lloyd George has just termed "war," that *The Nation's* Committee of One Hundred was formed.

THE first skirmish over the constitutionality of the rent laws enacted by the recent special session of the New York Legislature has been won by the tenant, Justice Edward R. Finch of the State Supreme Court having upheld the legislation as a legitimate exercise of the police power in the existing emergency. We have already commented on these laws, which substitute the State for the landlord as the rent-fixing power in the case of apartments, leaving it to the courts to determine the rental in disputed cases. An appeal will be taken, of course, from Justice Finch's decision but, apart from the question involved, it is noteworthy for its recognition that the Legislature is the proper body to determine the facts at issue. In overruling argument that the emergency does not justify the legislation enacted, Justice Finch says, "the court will not substitute his judgment for that of the Legislature." This is good sense and sound law, especially to be commended at a time when our courts are under just criticism for their tendency to usurp legislative and executive functions.

A MAN named Ballin has been indicted in New York City for violating the postal regulations by writing scare letters warning of imaginary bomb plots. The incident adds to the widespread suspicion that many of the so-called plots have been "framed." The Department of Justice has given wide publicity to violent anonymous circulars signed "Amer-

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ican Anarchist Fighters" or with other fire-eating names, suggesting that radical groups were plotting the destruction of society. But violence in action has not been proved against any of the radical groups which Mr. Palmer's agents have been persecuting. The Communists who now stand convicted have been found guilty only of writing manifestos which can be interpreted as mild or violent, as judge and jury may see fit, but which were public expressions of opinion, and which have never been connected with the spectacular "bomb plots." The Department of Justice has yet to show any connection between bomb outrages and the radical groups. The sensational stories in the New York *Evening World* have fallen flat; they have produced not a scintilla of real evidence, but only a vague chain of circumstances to suggest a possible motive in the row among the housewreckers' unions. Many radicals are firmly convinced that the outrages have been deliberate "frame-ups" intended to incite the public against the Reds. This is difficult to believe; but later evidence at least casts grave doubt upon the advertised assumption that the Wall Street explosion was due to a bomb. The Government expert who analyzed the street sweepings reported that the explosion was due to blasting gelatine.

CHILDREN throughout Central and Southeastern Europe have learned a new and beautiful, but pitifully half-true meaning for the word America as a result of the Hoover child-feeding work which alone has kept thousands of them alive this past year. Now Herbert Hoover writes that money is in hand to carry on only until January, and that "three and a half million children call to the heart and resources of America for these daily supplies, not available in their own countries, that are vital to their survival and to the rebuilding of their physical well-being. . . . Twenty-three million dollars must be raised without delay." The *Literary Digest*, with an immense circulation, sets itself the task of raising the fund. It will be difficult, with hard times imminent, to raise so large a sum; it will be tragic if it is not raised. Readers of *The Nation* do not need to be told of the misery in Central Europe; we hope they will be generous in response to the appeal. Checks should be sent to The Literary Digest Child-Feeding Fund, 354-360 Fourth Avenue, New York. We only wish that the children of Soviet Russia were not excluded.

THE Red Cross is appealing for more money. But the American Red Cross is no longer the generous open-hearted organization of pre-war days which asked only where help was most needed, and gave in proportion to the need. If it be "the greatest mother of them all" in size, it is a queer kind of mother: a cold, calculating mother, who inquires, not whether her children be hungry and ragged, but what are their politics. The Red Cross has become a propaganda tool of the State Department. It has given no aid in Ireland; it says it is waiting to be asked. By whom? By Mr. Lloyd George, forsooth? Its publicity advertises no help to Haiti or to India. Newspaper reports indicate that it has concentrated its attention upon the foes of Soviet Russia. We read of warehouses groaning with food held in the Baltic provinces to be rushed into Russia—not when or where starving people need it, but when and where the Soviet Government is overthrown. It is revealed that Red Cross supplies were one of Wrangel's best forms of propaganda, and one of the last acts of that adventurous baron prior to his hasty flight to a French battleship was to award to high officials of the American Red Cross decorations which must have something of the same value as an officer's commission in the Swiss navy. The Red Cross threw away in the war its fine old motto, "Neutrality—Humanity," and a different spirit now masquerades under the name which has such glorious traditions. Money given to it today is, among other things, money given for a peculiarly mean form of political propaganda—propaganda by starvation.

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, Collector of the Port of New York when the Lusitania started on her final voyage, revealed, in the course of his campaign as Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor of New York State, the fact that the Lusitania carried large quantities of ammunition consigned to the British Government, including 4,200 cases of Springfield cartridges containing some eleven tons of black powder. The revelation is not so important in its bearing upon the Lusitania case—for it does not lessen the cruelty of the sinking nor legally alter the status of the outrage—as in its bearing upon the methods of the Wilson Administration. The Wilson Administration refused to permit publication of the fact. One of the principal charges upon which the attempt to expel Robert M. La Follette from the Senate was based was that he had falsely declared that the Lusitania carried ammunition; the State Department refused to grant the Senator access to the official records to verify his statement; and the persecution of the Senator was dropped only when Mr. Malone offered to testify in his behalf. Upon such sands of hypocrisy was the structure of war-time "Americanism" built. Gradually the truth is leaking out and honest foundations are being laid for a truer patriotism; but there is more to come.

AT the health meeting of the annual convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs last June the five hundred delegates unanimously passed a resolution demanding "the speedy removal of all barriers due to legal restrictions, tradition, prejudice or ignorance, which now prevent parents from access to such scientific knowledge on this subject [voluntary parenthood] as is possessed by the medical profession." The New York State Federation last month voiced the same demand. Let those who occasionally despair of progress lift up their hearts. The action of these representative women, all voters now, signifies the revolt of intelligence and enlightened citizenship against utterly senseless and archaic taboo, which years ago inscribed into our federal and State anti-*obscenity* laws the scientific facts about one of the subjects most vital to the human race. An amendment to the existing law, which will legalize the dissemination of information now obtainable by practically all women of means, will come before Congress at its next session. It is likely to pass—there is no valid argument against it—for it will have the backing of the Senate Committee on Public Health, seven of whose eleven members, including the chairman, Senator Joseph I. France, himself a physician, are known to be favorable. Elsewhere in this issue a distinguished scientist discusses a few of the many phases of birth regulation, the full realization of which will go further toward promoting human happiness—by eliminating needless death, disease, poverty, mental anguish, and physical pain—than any other single reform readily achievable by present-day society.

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Should the Democratic Party Die?

IT was a Wilsonian Senator from the South, not even a mild reservationist, who prophesied last spring that after the election there would "not be enough left of the Democratic Party to make a funeral worth while." It was his belief that an amalgamation with the conservative Republican forces would be all that would be left to the party which Mr. Wilson's policies had even then condemned to overwhelming defeat. Today post mortems without number are on, as well as efforts to galvanize the remains into life. The job of reviving the Democracy is being offered to various statesmen and also to some successful financiers of Wall Street experience in reorganizing defunct corporations. But there are many who actually believe with the Southern Senator that hope for a resurrection does not exist.

We must confess that glad as we should be to lay flowers on the Democracy's bier there are still too many signs of life to make us feel sure that it is time to send for the priest. Parties do not die so easily. Theodore Roosevelt was sure that the Republican Party was as dead as a door-nail after it "stole" the nomination from him in 1912. He said in so many words that the party which he had led was so rotten as to be beyond the last rites, so dead as to be beyond concern. Its managers he declared to be "second-story burglars," and equal to "porch-climbers" in their lack of morality. Mr. Taft was "a receiver of stolen goods"; anybody who voted for him was "on a level with a receiver of stolen goods"; "he is a dishonest man and unfit to associate with honest men." The election of 1912 settled the matter in Mr. Roosevelt's mind. The Republican Party was beyond hope done for; in 1916 the Progressive Party would walk off with the prize. But 1916 saw the Progressives tricked and betrayed by Mr. Roosevelt himself, as it saw the election of Mr. Wilson on the peace issue. More than that, the year 1920 has witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of every member of the Colonel's immediate family working hard for the same Republican Party which he had declared to be "carrion," fit only for vultures—working for it although it was still engineered by the very same "second-story men," "burglars," "crooked bosses," and "rotten politicians" whom Colonel Roosevelt denounced so vehemently. It takes more than words or wishes to kill a political party.

So we are not ready to assert that the Democracy is dead, much as we should like to record its demise. Grave its plight is, for it is not only defeated, but morally bankrupt, and not for a long while can it possibly live down the taint of its Burlesons and its Palmers and the rest. It is at this hour practically without leaders who have the confidence of the nation, and it is without first-rate leadership of any kind; for this the Wilsonian policy of refusing to tolerate men of independent judgment and outspoken faith in the neighborhood of the White House is largely responsible. But miracles do happen in politics and new issues and new men spring up suddenly. The enormous and unwieldly Republican majorities in House and Senate carry within them by their very numbers the seeds of disaffection. So overwhelming a party representation breeds dissension and gives rise to splits within the party between conservatives and liberals precisely as was the case after the great Republican victory in 1908. If, for instance, a foreign issue should arise, like the question of Irish independence, and should be exploited by the Democrats, or if another tariff law of such flagrant immorality as the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law of 1910 should offend the consciences of the people a year hence, the Republicans might have their work cut out for them within four years. Indeed, it would be contrary to all our political precedents if there were not a reaction from Republicanism in the next Congressional elections.

As every one knows, the election of Mr. Harding was not a vote of confidence in the Republicans but merely the registering of a remarkably unanimous vote of disapproval upon Wilson's record—one not to be glossed over by our successful participation in the greatest of wars. There was no pledge in that vote of November 2 that the American people are ready indefinitely to endure further misgovernment at the hands of the Republicans. If they are disappointed again they will take a similar revenge, and the only question will be through what means. If the Democracy can re-win as much popular faith and enthusiasm as it did in 1912 by its pretense that it was bent on freeing us from our "invisible government" and bestowing upon us the priceless boon of that freedom from privilege and exploitation which most Americans crave, then it may come back into power. If it cannot obtain that confidence, then some new weapon will be forged; we shall see that line-up between conservatives and progressives foretold by the Southern Senator quoted, an alignment that would clarify the real issues before the people and give us a choice not between two reactionary parties, but one reactionary and one truly progressive. No man can prophesy how long it will take to bring about this inevitable division; that will depend upon the economic forces at work far more than upon politics and politicians.

That the day is not far off and that a beginning has really been made in the Northwest, *The Nation* devoutly hopes. We cannot believe that the Democracy will once more fool people into thinking that it points the way to freedom. For one thing, we cannot feel that today it has within it even a germ of the new liberalism the country needs and craves, just as it has no one to voice that liberalism did it exist. Its bosses, the Taggarts, the Murphys, the Nugents, the Roger Sullivans, and all the rest accepted Mr. Wilson's brand of "New Freedom" when compelled to in 1912, not because they had the slightest sympathy with it, but because after his nomination there was nothing else to do, and then they soon felt that his eloquence and personality spelled success. His political end finds them more than ever in control, without having even to fear Mr. Bryan's ill will as they did at the Baltimore convention. No one is in revolt against them in their bailiwicks. More than that, the Democracy cannot be a liberal party and remain the party of the white South as it is today. From the beginning, Mr. Wilson's liberalism limped because he opposed woman suffrage and never lifted his voice in protest against the disfranchisement of the Negroes, whose representatives in the departments at Washington he was the first President to segregate, thus establishing by an act of the Federal Executive two distinct classes of American citizens. To woman suffrage he later turned when it was expedient to do so. But not in a single utterance of his in eight years is there any reference to the Negro or his problems, though Mr. Wilson is ruler over ten millions of them. He is quite content that they should be taxed without representation and denied a voice at the Capitol. Just so long as Mr. Wilson's

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party is tied up to the Democratic leadership in the South, so long is it tied to the body of death. So long as it connives at the disfranchisement of millions of American citizens because of the color of their skin, so long, it is now clear, can it pretend to be liberal only by sheerest hypocrisy.

Truly, the Democratic Party has been poisoned by the hypocrisy of its leaders. Its members who believe in holding down the working classes, in privilege, in government-made profits, in Protection, and a free charter to "big business" to govern this country unopposed, belong in the Republican camp, not merely for this campaign, but permanently. Those of its members who in good faith were misled by the Wilson promises, who did ardently desire the "New Freedom" and all that Mr. Wilson defined it to mean, should now join hands with farmers and labor men to form a new party, to voice and to serve the aspirations and ardent desires of all forward-looking American men and women. Reorganize the Democratic Party? Let it die!

Free Trade and Peace

THE conference which framed the Treaty of Versailles has been compared, not without justice, with the predatory group that composed the Congress of Vienna in 1815. But with all its shortcomings the Vienna gathering took at least one step in advance of anything attempted by its modern imitator. Without having held before it fourteen points alleged to be idealistic or any moral principle whatever, it nevertheless took steps to remove from one part of the world certain economic barriers to trade. To the failure of the Big Four at Versailles to take similar action may be justly attributed much of the warfare that has followed the "war to end war," especially the war between imperialist Poland and its Russian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian neighbors, and in a large measure the misery and chaos which reigns in what was once the Empire of Austria-Hungary.

When the Vienna Congress sanctioned the renewed partition of Poland it added thereto a provision for absolute free trade between the politically separated sections. There were to be no custom houses between the Russian, Austrian, or Prussian parts of Poland. The use of rivers and canals within the boundaries of 1772 was made equally free to all inhabitants of the old kingdom. Thus Polish industry on all sides of international boundaries was equally free to obtain coal from the rich deposits in the southwest. The salt mines under Austrian domination could supply the wants of Russian and Prussian subjects. Iron ore mined in Russian territory could be transported free of duty to Prussia and Austria. Zinc produced under Prussian rule could be taken to Austria and Russia. Free trade in Poland had naturally the same results as interstate free trade in the United States. Industry flourished. There came a wonderful growth of cities and towns comparable only to similar growth in the United States. From a small town Lodz grew into a city of several hundred thousand inhabitants. Warsaw also increased in importance as a manufacturing center. There were metal factories and furniture factories, lime and cement works, and many other kinds of industries.

Although the Russian Government proved a cruel, tyrannical master in many respects, it was liberal to Poland in so far as encouragement to trade and manufactures was concerned. In 1859 the free trade area was extended from Russian Poland, or the "Kingdom of Poland" as it was then still called, throughout the whole region from the Prussian boundary to the Bering Sea. But Russia's protected interests objected to this. Lodz became at once so formidable a rival of Moscow that petitions went to the Czar complaining of the direful results of Polish competition. Whatever may be said of these complaints they were free at least from hypocritical pleas in behalf of the workingman. They did not charge the Poles with maintaining pauper labor. Not that Polish wages were actually high but rather the reverse. But low as Polish wages were they were higher than Russian wages; long as were the hours of Polish labor they were not so long as Russian hours. In Lodz the average working day was 11 hours, for which wages ranged from 30 to 50 cents. But in Moscow wages were less and the working day ranged from 14 to 16 hours. Judged by modern standards, of course, there was little that was wonderful in the better conditions in Poland. And these conditions had results impairing the value of free trade. With the growth of industrial centers came increase of rents to such an extent that it was, and may still be, a frequent thing for a dozen persons to live in one room. But that is another story. Just as better paid American labor today is able to meet poorly paid foreign labor on its own ground in successful competition, so the products of Polish labor met successfully the competition of more poorly paid Russian labor in purely Russian territory. This came to an end in 1869 when the shadowy "Kingdom of Poland" was abolished and become the Vistula provinces of the Russian Empire. Closer political union was then forced upon the Polish people but economic union was more restricted. Freedom of commerce was still allowed with the Ukraine but was cut off from the rest of the Empire. Finally in 1882 this remnant of freedom was also withdrawn. It does not appear that the protective system thus established had any of the results which the American Protective Tariff League holds must always follow.

Prussia and Austria did not wait so long as Russia to violate the trade provisions of the Vienna treaty. In 1861 a Polish representative in the Prussian Landtag introduced a resolution calling attention to disregard of treaty obligations demanding restoration of free trade. The plea met but good-natured contempt. What was this treaty but a "scrap of paper"? Again in 1879 the Polish delegation in the Imperial Reichstag demanded of Bismarck the commercial rights guaranteed their country at Vienna. Of course the attempt failed. Bismarck, with the political and economic ideals of a Taft, McKinley, or Penrose, could not be expected to do otherwise than refuse an appeal for free trade. Protectionism was allowed to have its way, breeding international friction, bickering, and hatred, and finally doing its share in bringing about the cataclysm of 1914. Whether the Polish and Russian representatives, who met to arrange terms of peace, have taken free trade into consideration has not been reported. Whether Poles and Lithuanians will take this matter up when they finally meet is also doubtful. But the incorporation of such a provision is essential to permanent peace. The history of Poland makes this fact so clear that it is hard to see how the delegates from that country can avoid taking the initiative in its reestablishment. Those to whom bolshevism is a bugbear will find in a policy of economic justice a reliable barrier against its spread, and free trade is an essential part of such a policy.

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War, Waste, and Business

BIT by bit facts are emerging which show that our participation in the European War was attended with the same orgy of graft and incompetence that has been present in other conflicts. Many persons had hoped that the higher ideals professed would lead to a better morality in public service, and available information up to the close of the war seemed to bear this out. But that was due, it now appears, partly to the shortness of hostilities and partly to the fact that the social and legal code which ruled during the war made it impossible for anybody to utter a word of criticism without being branded by his associates as pro-German or prosecuted by the Government for sedition. The revelations of folly in aircraft construction provided the first considerable jar to our self-complacence. These have been followed by evidence of outrageous profiteering on the part of many of our most patriotic business enterprises; by charges that the War Department has held food and other supplies out of the domestic market so as not to lower prices to the disadvantage of business interests, and has scrapped or sold for a song a vast amount of material abroad; and now by testimony before a Congressional investigating committee which shows the United States Shipping Board's activities to have been redundant with incompetence, waste, and graft and its personnel to have embraced an extraordinary number of incompetents, scoundrels, and plain unvarnished thieves.

It is only fair to allow for a generous amount of ignorance and extravagance in connection with our shipping program. The job was at least second in importance, if not superior, to that of the War Department, but, whereas the army had a body of trained officers and an organization to begin with, the Shipping Board had to create out of thin air an industry which had become virtually extinct in America—that of building and operating deepwater vessels. The need of new tonnage was vital; speed was a prime consideration. How to find or train technically the men to create and manage this new industry was a stupendous problem. But it is clear that the Shipping Board's activities have suffered not merely by haste and lack of knowledge but by the presence of scores of officers and other employees who have loafed in well-paid jobs, winked at graft in plain sight, or deliberately lined their pockets with plunder. And the worst of it is that this not only took place during the pressure of the war but has been going on ever since.

According to investigators for the Walsh Committee, heavy and inexcusable losses were sustained by contracts for shipyards so far inland that canals would have to be dredged in order to launch ships. One company was awarded a contract for ten vessels, but after six months the only visible construction was a tool house. The National Shipbuilding Company of Savannah established a yard a mile from the place where it had represented itself to have a going plant, and the Government had to supply money to dredge a marsh before operations could be started. The yard did not complete a ship. The case is now in the hands of the United States District Attorney, but it is declared that every effort is being made to shelve the prosecution. This same yard, which cost $285,000 and contained materials valued at $245,000, was recently sold for $39,000, although the Shipping Board had a standing offer of $65,000 for it without the materials. One thrifty contractor is cited who bought lifeboats from the salvage service of the Navy for $10 and sold them to the Shipping Board for $110. In the assignment of vessels for operation, well-established companies have found it impossible to get vessels, while inexperienced and irresponsible organizations known as "war babies" have obtained allocations. Among other companies successful in getting ships was one headed by a dealer in theatrical costumes. Gratuities and bribes have been common and political influence has been prominent. The financial affairs of the Shipping Board are in such condition that 4,000 employees, costing $8,000,000 annually, are still trying to straighten out the tangle. If we were not dulled to emotional appeals we should all hang our heads with shame at this exposure.

The Shipping Board scandals are an indictment of the methods of present-day American business. For the Shipping Board was above everything else the contribution to the war of our best business minds. It was organized and directed by Edward N. Hurley, Charles M. Schwab, and others of our most eminent captains of industry. American business has loved to regard itself as the most efficient in the world. It is true that in the direction of standardization and quantity production we are leaders, but extravagance and carelessness made it impossible for us adequately to compete in the international market—the acid test of industrial supremacy—until the European War gave us a unique and abnormal advantage. We are now facing a period of business deflation. If it is met honestly and intelligently, we shall benefit by it. If, instead, our business men try to save their faces and their jobs by reducing the wages of their workers and making organized labor a scapegoat, they will invite and deserve disaster. To begin at the bottom and work up is a good way in certain circumstances; but what our modern business system needs is an overhauling that will begin at the top and work down.

The Strolling Players

THE strolling players of Scarron have joined those others who traveled in the car of Thespis. The wandering comedian belongs to a dying race. Yet it dies hard. The instinct of the mime is strong and the roads of the earth are many. We thought we had seen our last company of such players suddenly and somewhat forlornly descend upon a Knights of Pythias hall in a Southern village many years ago, when, behold, in 1914, in Marion, Ohio—as yet unknown to fame—we came upon another boldly strutting through a curious two-act play about a Kentucky colonel, a Yankee villain, and a wronged wife. And two years later, in an amusement park on the straggling outskirts of a larger city of the Middle West, there turned up a strange, brave little troupe playing, of all things, Ibsen's "Ghosts," and playing it far from contemptibly, before a handful of astonished yokels, a group of tight-lipped priests who had wandered in from a neighboring vicarage, and a large bat that whirred through the barn-like hall and thudded softly against the hanging lamps. The players slipped away—lonely symbols of an ancient and perishing mode of life and art. There may be still other troupes, shadowy and obscure survivals. No one sets down the story of their doings or their fate. How many people know that, till but the other day, the old show-boats still plied up and down the Ohio River? The crew consisted of actors; the captain was manager and lead-

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ing man. The boats contained a hall and a stage, dropped anchor at remote landings and lit their lights, and the villagers came on board to see old melodramas acted and to listen to sad stories of the deaths of kings. The late David Graham Phillips introduced a show-boat into his story of Susan Lenox. But his account is tawdry and episodic and no reliable history of these strange craft exists; they have still no Scarron.

It is not the moving picture show that has given the strolling players their coup de grace; it is the road company. The members of these companies are anything but adventurous mimes seeking the open roads of a gay world. They are employees. They might as well be in shops. To them one-night stands in the Canadian Northwest are as stripped of essential adventure as working on the "subway circuit" in Brooklyn or the Bronx. Pullman coaches connect the houses controlled by the theatrical trusts from Alaska to the Gulf of Mexico and the players carry the echoes of last year's Broadway hits from Fargo to Mobile. The wildest of the ancient arts is organized on a nation-wide business basis and seventy-five dollars a week plus railroad expenses paid from the New York office drains the last drop of adventurousness from the player's bones. Tales of stranded road-companies, of shifts and quaint accidents are out of date. All the hotels serve grape-fruit for breakfast and the same dishes with the same names in bad French for dinner. The development of civilization, in flat contradiction of Spencer's definition, is from variety to sameness, and soon the dusty fellow with a collapsible merry-go-round will be the last representative of the wandering mimes who were proud, shabby, and eloquent upon the roads to Babylon and in the shadow of the great cathedrals.

No wonder that romantic souls have been eager somehow to revive the long tradition of the traveling show. From Greenwich Village came last season the announcement of a Caravan Theater. But no one seems to have summoned it. A similar message comes from England this season and they who send it may have better luck. Mr. Stuart Walker's "Portmanteau Theater" remains, however, the typical experiment of its kind. It, too, has left the roads. But for certain seasons it fared up and down the land. Only, alas, it did not go to the people. No square or town-hall was suddenly lifted into passion, poetry, and wonder because of its coming. It was cannily summoned with expenses guaranteed by Drama League centers and women's clubs. It lacked robustness, breadth, and popularity in the nobler sense. The little plays were tenuous and neo-romantic and far more like millinery than like folk-ballads. Later on Mr. Walker gave some superb productions and wrote one very beautiful play. But he was too aloof and also too artful to revive the tradition of the strolling players. If ever we are to have such again, they must be more like Vachel Lindsay in the days when he chanted his rhymes for a supper and a night's lodging. They must flee the hot atmosphere of the scented studio and the "little theater" and all contamination of experts in the decorative arts. A platform, a passion, a burning thought and youth—these are their only needs. Perhaps some day a group of young collegians—we have seen and known possible ones—instead of drifting to schools of acting or "arty" cliques, will take to the road and act both Shakespeare and Ibsen on the Main Streets of towns and villages and redeem hungry souls from the toils and graces of the stars of the "Realart," the "Metro," and the "Universal."

Rome Rolls Round Again

IN the austere days of the Republic the Romans, Senators and plain men alike, often used the Tiber for their baths, satisfied, according to Seneca, with a weekly ablution and not disposed to demand too much in the way of luxurious surroundings. Scipio Africanus had a warm bath in his villa at Liternum, and Maecenas went so far as a whole swimming tank of hot water. But with the Empire came the fleshpots; baths private and public (balneae) and Imperial (thermae) crowded the city. No less a person than Galen drew up rules for what became a ritual as well as a regimen, and the thermae grew into centers of fashionable life. Is something like this going on in Washington? The Potomac is no longer enough for our Senators. Not even the private baths of the town seem to suffice. Only eight years ago, when the power in Congress swung from the aristocratic Republicans to the simple Democrats, the newly installed Senatorial baths came under the lash of the Jeffersonians, and for eight years have been undeveloped and deserted. Now, however, there is a stir in these quarters. The extravagance of letting the equipment lie unused, some Senators think, is as great as the extravagance of using it. A committee has consequently been chosen to save the country's money by spending that of the Senators, who will have baths as sumptuous as the toils of their office require.

It is a pretty picture that comes to mind at the thought. The Senators, if the great Greco-Roman traditions are kept up, will take off their togas in the apodyterium, move on to the elaeothesium to be anointed with oil, and thence proceed to the violent exercise of games such, no doubt, as in modern terminology are called hand-ball or medicine-ball. Then through the tepidarium, a room mildly warm, into the calidarium, where the heat will amount to something; after this to the frigidarium, for the shock of a cold bath, which our Senators can take with accessories of needle and drench showers which would have frightened Scipio Africanus and sent Cato Major, in a Spartan huff, back to his Sabine farm. The climax for the Senators of Washington will of course come when, having gone in turn through the calidarium again, they emerge into the laconicum or hot air room, devised in ancient times by the wise Lacedaemonians. After that the toga again, and ready for the fray.

It *is* a pretty picture, and such disturbing elements as the electric cabinet or shocks from the static machine cannot spoil the antique look of the picture. Here some conscript father with whiskers of tender pink sits languidly upon a slab of purple marble and swaps votes with a rough-hewn Senator from the State Sherman marched through to the sea. Here the most literary of the Senators floats lightly in the plunge bath and talks of the lives of Washington and Webster to the Republican Senator who most stubbornly withstood the innovation of suffrage for women. Yonder the Senator who most violently longs for war with Mexico thumps the punching bag until the sound of his blows echoes into the laconicum and even into the apodyterium. Elsewhere Democrats and Republicans, between whom the election has drawn sectional lines, fight the Civil War again with medicine balls. Outside in the vestibule lounge the secretaries, holding clients and constituents at bay. Life swarms and eddies round the Senatorial baths; the League and treaty wait; prices stay up; ideals stay down. Within the baths the great tradition of government goes on.

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Our Debt of Honor

By HAROLD A. LITTLEDALE

TWO years after the Armistice our debt to the soldiers who were overseas is still unpaid. Whatever the varieties and shades of opinion of Americans on the war, its purposes, conduct, and consequences, none will deny that America's foremost and most solemn obligation is the proper care of her wounded veterans, the boys who went forth so bravely, who dared so greatly, who sacrificed so much, and today are crippled and helpless. Yet America which loves to pride herself on many virtues, among them a sense of honor, and on many accomplishments, among them efficiency, has in this crucial issue been neither honorable nor efficient.

First, more than a year passed before any machinery was set up to care for our war cripples. Not till June 27, 1918, was the Rehabilitation Law passed. It established two classes of disabled soldiers. First, those who because of disabilities could not return to their pre-war occupations; these were to be trained and supported by the Government. Second, those who could ultimately return to former occupations; these were to be trained free, but required to support themselves. The law placed the important work of rehabilitation, with its many aspects—medical, vocational, industrial, social, and human—with the Federal Board for Vocational Education. This Board had been created long before the war for an entirely different purpose, namely to foster vocational education in schools and colleges. As originally established it belonged to no department of the Government, owing no responsibility except that of making a report to Congress, which would be duly printed, pigeonholed, and left unread. It was composed of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture, and Commerce, the Commissioner of Education and three others, representing respectively, manufacture, agriculture, and labor. Now the Cabinet members and the Commissioner of Education are virtually ex-officio members. Those who actually control the Board are the representatives of the economic groups, James P. Munrie, Calvin F. McIntosh, and Arthur E. Holder.

The foundation of the rehabilitation structure was therefore most unpromising. But that was not all. There was a joker in the law. A clause gave the Vocational Board no authority to act unless the applicant had first been found entitled to compensation by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, a wholly separate agency located in the Treasury Department. The story of the War Risk Bureau's failure at that time is well-known. The wounded began to pour back. With the coming of the Armistice thousands were discharged from army hospitals and camps. The Bureau became clogged, and was utterly unable to take care of the rush of applications.

During all this heart-breaking delay, the Vocational Board did nothing. The remedy which it secured a year later, and could have had then for the asking, it made no move to obtain. It held up the disabled men, who had been so speedily and efficiently shipped to the front, on a red-tape entanglement as cruel and unpardonable as any in No Man's Land. Finally with the confusion unutterable, the Board went to Congress and asked to be separated from the Bureau. Congress acted immediately and made the Board a free agent, able to put men in training.

Did the Board, freed from red-tape but that of its own creation, make up for the precious time lost? On the contrary, it adopted the policy that all cases must be passed upon in Washington. Whether a man lived in Maine or California, his case must be solemnly bruited over by the Central Office Case Board. Its members never saw the man. They merely saw papers in a folder. So the total casualty grist, the documents of nearly 150,000 men clamoring for training, fell upon the Board at once. Meanwhile the Board came under fire. The stories of neglect filled the newspapers and reached Congress. At this juncture a happy inspiration came to a high official of the Board. He wrote out a list of eleven "Hints" to expedite the work of his harassed subordinates. Among them were:

> The organs used in approving cases are the eyes and the brain. The ears and the heart do not function.
>
> Be Hard Boiled. Members of the District Office staffs will beat you over the head with verbal pressure. District pressure causes all our mistakes. Put cotton in your ears and lock the door. If you are naturally sympathetic work nights when nobody is there.
>
> Accept advice from Central Office. Take all the cigarettes you can get from members of the District Office staffs, but no advice.

This was the famous, or rather infamous, Hard Boiled Order. For cynical callousness it is unique. The Vocational Board asserts it was censored. Undoubtedly it was, but when? And did the censored copy go out? Of that proof is lacking, but it has been proved that the original order, unsigned, it is true, did go out. It went out in government franked envelopes. That should make it official enough. Agents of the Board admit receiving it, and some of them still have it. From one of them the New York *Evening Post* obtained a copy and printed it. The ensuing storm of protest precipitated a Congressional investigation. This was conducted by the House Committee on Education, and came to a close the day Congress adjourned. The report recommended certain legislation which can be enacted only when Congress reassembles. The author of the Hard Boiled Order was discharged and the system of centralization was discontinued.

What is the situation today? Out of 132,644 declared eligible, but 42,854 are now receiving the training to which they are entitled. To this number may be added another 7,197 taking preliminary training in hospitals, 9,238 men who gave up training, 1,753 who completed it, and we find 71,602 men, fifty-four per cent of those *declared* eligible, who have been neglected. When one thinks of the thousands of deserving injured whom a "hard-boiled" functionary declared ineligible, and of the heart-breaking efforts of the forty-six per cent who managed finally to secure training, the record is shocking enough.

Such a state of affairs must not continue. The responsible men, Munroe, McIntosh, and Holder, should be removed at once. Then the work, now so intertwined between the Vocational Board, the Compensation Division of the War Risk Bureau, and the Hospital Division of the Public Health service should be coordinated under one efficient and responsible head, possibly a Cabinet member. Only in some such way can we begin the repayment of our hitherto sadly defaulted debt of honor.

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Bigotry in the South

By CHARLES P. SWEENEY

THE election of Thomas E. Watson of Georgia to the Senate necessarily calls attention to the growing menace of racial and religious intolerance in the United States. Race hatred and prejudice have long festered in our body politic, and made mockery of some of our most cherished and highly vaunted professions. Bigots there have been in important public offices and even in the Senate, but never before has so conspicuous, so violent, so flaming an apostle of every variety of race hatred been invested with the power and dignity of the Senatorial Toga. Watson's election, while due to a variety of circumstances and a combination of issues, is essentially the victory of a Fifth Estate, of the sinister forces of intolerance, superstition, prejudice, religious jingoism, and mobbism. It may be thought that Watson rode into office on the tide of revulsion against Wilsonism and the League of Nations, for he bitterly opposed the war, fought conscription tooth and nail; and was both prosecuted and persecuted for it. His opposition to the League of Nations has been as violent as his antagonism to the war, but his attacks on the League and the Treaty were neither those of an intelligent seeker after peace nor of an ordinary political dissenter. Watson proclaimed and induced thousands of his credulous followers to believe that the League was an agency through which the Vatican seeks to impress a Romanist and Jesuit super-government upon the world. President Wilson, he painted as the tool of the Pope whose political agent, according to Mr. Watson, is Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, the President's secretary. The reaction from the war and against Wilsonism undoubtedly played their part in electing Watson, but it was a small part. For years he has been a powerful figure in Georgia politics, his violence and his intransigeance gaining him the role of fearless prophet and leader.

The World War has of course left in its wake a rising tide of every kind of tribal hate, an intensification of every primitive human passion, but anti-Catholicism is not a new phenomenon in the Southern States. Men are swept to Congress on it, men ride into executive mansions on it, and whole legislatures and county and city administrations are elected on that single issue. It stands second only to the hatred of the Negro as the moving passion of entire Southern communities. Already the waves of hatred whipped up by Watson and his fellow mobbists have resulted in the midnight burning of a Catholic church and school building and in several unsuccessful attempts at similar outrages. Permitted a steady development we might some day expect to see the burning of Catholics at the stake and such other of the monstrous delights of inflamed ignorance as are now practiced on the Negro population. At Watson's door, for instance, can be chiefly laid the responsibility for the orgy of anti-Semitism that culminated in the ghastly lynching of Leo Frank, of whose complete innocence of the murder charged to him there is not the slightest doubt. In his long campaign of journalistic frightfulness against Frank and against all Jews at the time, Watson convinced Southerners by the thousands that the Jewish faith condoned and encouraged atrocious crimes against the children of Christians. As a result of Watson's carnival of falsehood against Frank, which led to Frank's legal, and later to his actual, lynching, the belief became widespread in Georgia that one of the Hebraic rituals is the drawing of the blood of children and the drinking of it by adults. The lives of Jews were unsafe in Atlanta during the height of Watson's campaign, conducted through his newspaper, the *Jeffersonian*. Since that paper was suppressed for alleged disloyalty during the war, Mr. Watson speaks through the *Columbia Sentinel*.

But the anti-Semitism developed through the Frank case to improve Watson's political strength and enhance the *Jeffersonian's* circulation has, generally considered, been mild in comparison with the anti-Catholic madness of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. The city of Birmingham, Alabama, has but 10,000 Catholics out of 200,000 population. Nevertheless, the good people of Birmingham have been led to believe that Catholics are plotting control of the city, state, and national governments in the name of the Pope, that they seek the destruction of the public schools, and that they are a menace to the existence of the home as the basic unit of organized society. So firmly do the great majority of inhabitants believe these things that they go to the polls and elect men to public office on the single issue of protecting the Government and the community from Popery. Thus, the present Governor of Alabama, Thomas E. Kilby, was elected because he induced the voters to believe him a stauncher foe of Catholicism than his opponents. One of the rash pledges he made in his campaign, but has failed to redeem, was a promise to find legal means to compel priests to marry. One pledge that he has kept, was for the enactment of a "Convent Inspection Law." It is now in force. In its original form it directed sheriffs, upon written application of twenty-five citizens, at any time of day or night, to proceed to the convent named in the application, thoroughly to inspect the place, and to inquire from every woman there if she was held against her will. There were objections to the form of the bill as presented originally and a compromise was effected. The bill adopted and signed by the Governor establishes a State Commission to inspect the institutions at regular intervals. In Florida, where the grotesque Governor Sidney J. Catts sailed into office on a wave of anti-Catholic and anti-Negro prejudice, a similar law has been adopted. The delusion inspiring this rare statute—that convents are polygamous institutions maintained for the Catholic clergy—is general wherever Watson and his associates have carried their campaigns.

The anti-Catholic prejudice is thoroughly organized. In Birmingham, for instance, if you don't belong to the "T. A's" you are suspect. "T. A's" means True Americans, a vast and rapidly growing secret organization having the extermination of Catholicism as its sole object. "No Catholics in public office" is its watchword. The present county administration of Jefferson County, which embraces Birmingham, was elected on an issue confined to the dismissal of a Catholic young woman stenographer in the county treasurer's office. The "T. A's" had ordered the former treasurer to dismiss her. He refused. The issue was joined. The treasurer and those who stood with him were defeated, and the young woman was promptly dismissed. The present city administration of Birmingham

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was elected because the "T. A's" supported it. When it took office all Catholics, save two policemen, were dismissed.

In 1916 two public school buildings were mysteriously burned in Birmingham. The city became inflamed against the Catholics, agitators charging that they had burned the schools in retaliation for the midnight destruction of a Catholic church and school building at Pratt City, near Birmingham, two years before. Federal agents warned the pastors of the two Catholic churches in Birmingham that a plot was under way to destroy their churches and schools and on their advice armed guards were employed. On two occasions parties in automobiles were driven from the church properties in the small hours of the morning. The Birmingham anti-Catholics are convinced the Catholics burned the public schools, just as the Catholics believe the "T. A's" burned the church and school at Pratt City. The city editor of the Birmingham *Age-Herald*, Mr. McKinley, when the writer asked him, said he believed the Irish Catholics burned the public schools. The newspapers themselves are not above prejudice. A reporter now employed on an Atlanta paper was summarily dismissed from a Birmingham daily because he openly expressed his opinion that the "T. A's" were "low-down." The Birmingham *Age-Herald* and the Birmingham *News*, which control the field, not only tolerate, but by editorial silence and frank news-column recognition of anti-Catholic activities actually encourage the prejudice in the community. The efforts to dislodge Catholics from their jobs was carried out systematically and with considerable success, numbers of merchants fearing ruin at the hands of the "T. A's" and other secret and fraternal societies which are parties to the prejudice. Each employer was visited by a vigilance committee, which demanded dismissal of Catholic workers under penalty of a boycott. It must be said for most of the Jewish merchants that they invited the committee to leave their stores and defied the threat of boycott. Birmingham, as well as other cities and towns, abounds in anti-Catholic literature. At newsstands one buys Watson's paper, or the *Menace*, or any one of a number of lesser organs of prejudice, and is given free a booklet bearing Abraham Lincoln's likeness on the cover and containing inside the information that Catholics assassinated all of our martyred presidents, and quoting Lincoln in an incredibly violent and bitter attack on Roman Catholics, concluding with an expression of Lincoln's conviction that Catholics must not be permitted to enjoy political freedom in the United States. It so happens that Robert T. Lincoln has on several occasions branded this entire quotation as a sheer invention, but hundreds of thousands of Southerners believe it and are moved by every word of it. The back cover of the booklet comprises an application blank for membership, apparently in the "T. A's," although the name of the organization does not appear, nor does the name of the printer, or the union label or any other mark by which the circulators of the libel on Lincoln can readily be identified.

It has become a matter of almost routine necessity in Alabama for candidates for public office to make announcement of their stand against Catholicism. The following is part of the platform of M. B. Grace, candidate for Congress, as printed in the Birmingham papers last April 14.

AMERICANISM

There is said to be in this country a designing and militant force which is inimical to our Government and American institutions, which force is dominated by a foreign ecclesiastical power. Church and state must forever be kept separate. This is not a religious issue, it is a political issue. I stand solidly for the Constitution of the United States of America, and I am against that which is gnawing at the vitals of our American civilization undermining the hope of universal democracy and piling up inflammable material for the torch of terrorism and anarchy. The citizens of this American Republic must always be free to exercise their political rights as they desire, to belong to the church of their preference, and to worship their God according to the dictates of their conscience. . . . I am a member of the First Methodist Church of Birmingham, Knights of Pythias, Elks, and Odd Fellows.

Governor Catts, of Florida, is responsible, along with Watson, for the widespread belief that the Pope has planned an invasion of Florida, there to set up the Vatican which "is soon to be driven from Italy by the anti-Catholics." On the subject of Catholicism, Catts has made statements that can scarcely be attributed to a sane person. As an illustration of his qualities of statesmanship on issues other than the religious, the following excerpt from a news article in the Fort Myers (Fla.) *Press* is of interest:

Governor Catts, in the course of a speech delivered in the court-house of Lee County at Fort Myers today sought to arouse the ire of his hearers against the League of Nations by declaring that if the United States joined the international family of the world, nine men, one of them a thick-lipped gazabo from Liberia, would run everything over here.

"Why feller citizens," he enthusiastically declared, "if we had a League of Nations those foreigners would take Judge Whitehurst off this bench here and what would they do? I'll tell you what they'd do. They'd go to your homes here in Fort Myers, and look at your washing hung on the line in the back yard; they'd glance into your garbage pails; they'd pry into your kitchens, and they'd peer into your bureau drawers. And they wouldn't stop there. What else would they do? These foreigners would peer into your wife's closets and examine her clothes—her intimate wearing apparel. And you know what would happen, don't you? I'll tell you. There'd be black eyes and broken bones next morning. That's what those foreigners would get."

Fraternalism is the machinery employed for organizing the anti-Catholic prejudice. The Masonic lodges, American Mechanics, Knights of Pythias, Modern Woodmen of the World, Odd Fellows, Junior Order American Mechanics, are everywhere in evidence, and, besides the "T. A's," there have grown up a number of other societies devoted exclusively and actively to anti-Catholicism, among them the Guardians of Liberty, the Sons and Daughters of Washington, and the Ku Klux Klan. "These cities and towns are cursed with fraternalism," said a newspaper man in Charlotte. "If you don't belong to one of those orders you might as well be on your way. I joined the Elks but refused to join any other club or society. The boss thinks I'm a friend of the Catholics, whereas I merely refused to take part in organized hatred of Catholics or anybody else. The result is I'm in wrong."

All the while Watson and his associates are ranting about safeguarding liberty and American institutions they are largely responsible for the widespread belief existing in the South today that lynch law is God's law—if the party to be lynched is black of face, goes to confession, or reads the Talmud! Intolerance when it joins so many citizens in a common hatred, and dominates the politics of whole American States, is a proper and immediate subject for serious reflection by the whole people, for freedom of conscience and of action are menaced while it continues to advance.

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The Russo-Polish Peace

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

RIGA, October 12

PRELIMINARY peace and armistice between Russia and Poland have just been signed. I have just come from the great Schwarzhaupter Hall, where the merchant princes of Riga used to hold high revel, and watched the deed accomplished. I must admit that the scene, as such things go, was very impressive, far more so than the hurried and helterskelter signing at Versailles. It took place in a very large square room, whose walls are covered with huge portraits of Czars and Czarinas, mostly on horseback, including one of the Great Catherine, beautiful and buoyant, modernly in knickerbockers and astride a magnificent charger, a slender and springlike Catherine, indeed, who without rank might easily have attracted the eyes of mankind. Over the doors and decorating the balconies, one saw rich carving and plaster work in which the figure of a Moor, who seems to have played a prominent part in Rigan history and was the special founder of this hall, is ever present. The ceiling is frescoed in the Venetian style. On the afternoon of the ceremony, the two delegations were grouped in the center of the room on either side of a long table. Since the Russians spoke Russian and the Poles Polish, each side had to have an interpreter. At least, it was considered necessary, although all the Poles understood Russian and most of the Bolsheviks could speak Polish. At heated moments during the previous conference sittings, Dombski and Joffe had often conversed together direct. At this one, the interpreters sat behind their respective delegations in lonely grandeur. Then there were little tables, branching off from the corners of the long table, at which clustered stenographers and other anonymous personages. Behind the Polish delegates stood a whole galaxy of showily dressed military officers, in braid and gilt shoulder ropes and clinking spurs. On the Bolshevik side there wasn't a single uniform. About the one end of the room was a half-moon of tables, at which sat the Fourth Estate. In the little balcony sat the foreign missions, Colonel Tallents, Mr. Young, and others, all representing countries not recognizing the Bolsheviki, but intensely interested nevertheless. There were practically no women spectators, which was, so far as impressiveness went, an improvement on Versailles. Paderewski's forest of hair, flaming gray, however, was notably absent.

The ceremony itself was deadly dull, consisting of readings and translations of the treaty and armistice. Then, just before the inevitable flashlight, the signing took place. I asked Joffe what he felt about the treaty just a few minutes after it was signed. Joffe has a wise Egyptian kind of face, with wide-set eyes and features flattened a bit, like the little bust done in red granite of a Pharaoh in the Metropolitan Museum. He is a god of peace who regards the world of facts patiently, as having to be recognized, and to which something must inevitably be conceded. He believes in making peace, in letting natural forces work out inevitable results. But I know he did not like making this particular peace. "It might have been worse," was the content of his reply to me.

On the way out of the building, I crossed Dombski's path. He came sailing along happy and flushed, with his one arm full of crysanthemums which some admirer had sent him. "I told you, didn't I, at our interview, that we'd have peace?" So said Dombski. And so he had told me when I first spoke to him. And now he was radiant. This peace, if it lasts and some Polish marplot does not smash it, will make Dombski prime minister and will, at the next elections, put his Peasant Party into power.

Now, perhaps, it will be better to go back to the beginning of these things. I arrived at Riga from Moscow with the Russian delegation. The latter had been delayed in Moscow almost a week because the Poles would not state when their delegation would leave Warsaw. Arrived at Riga, the Russian delegation waited four days before the Poles arrived. When the Poles finally came, there was another delay of two or three days before the first meeting came off. Then occurred only a formal exchange of credentials, the only notable feature of which was that the Poles did not object to Manuilski, representative of the Ukraine. Finally, after ten days lost time, during which the Polish situation at the front grew all the while better, a real meeting took place. At this session, to which the press had access, Joffe won his first strategic victory. He read the declaration of the Central Executive Committee at Moscow, by which all the Minsk terms were abandoned, and even the claims as to a plebiscite in Eastern Galicia were tacitly although not openly disavowed, and a better line was offered than the one Curzon had allowed. After this the Polish declaration in answer to the Minsk terms fell laughably flat. Dombski, I think, at this time somewhat lost his temper. At the conference itself there were several passages at arms between him and Joffe. The latter called for the formation at once of armistice and other commissions. He pointed out that the Russian offer had only been made to prevent a winter campaign and untold suffering and, consequently, there was a provision in the offer limiting its duration to ten days. Hence the need of speed. However, commissions were not formed, owing to Polish delays. This was not due really to Dombski's personal unwillingness to hurry matters. On the contrary, from conversations I've had with him, I'm convinced he wished to hasten peace, but he had his own people to deal with. On the Russian delegation, Joffe was the undoubted and undisputed chief. On the Polish aggregation, Dombski was only one of three factions. Grabski represented the National Democrats, the party of the landholders and imperialists; Perle and Barliczki, the Social Democrats. And then Foreign Minister Prince Sapieha was always hanging about in the offing and threatening to come up from Warsaw and take matters into his own hands. During the whole of the ensuing negotiations, Perle and Barliczki, I have learned, were more for pushing the Russians to the limit than Grabski. They even went so far as to oppose the signing of any armistice at all. I was told that their attitude was really shameful and deserves to bring them a reading out of even the Right Socialist parties. Nevertheless, it seems true, as he repeatedly told me, that Dombski had the power to force peace as long as the constellation of the coalition cabinet in Warsaw remained as it was. As a matter of fact, before the conference finished its sittings, the National Democrats left the cabinet, thus strengthening Dombski's position.

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The danger at Riga was that a series of minor irritations, especially unnecessary delays, might keep Joffe and Dombski apart, and so prevent any real understanding between them. At this point, perhaps, it is well to state that Joffe told me, and his first interviews at Riga bear this out, that he had been against making the concessions to the Poles contained in the Moscow declaration. In fact, this document only came over the wires early in the morning of the day upon which Joffe dropped it like a bombshell among the chauvinistic Poles. Joffe said that he thought any settlement which didn't provide for Polish disarmament wouldn't be of much value to Russia. But Moscow ruled otherwise. Lenin, who has always believed in making peace and securing the Russian moral position, at last rejected the Bucharin, Zinoviev, and the Third International viewpoint of an immediate world revolution, which had momentarily prevailed during the drive on Warsaw, and forced the C. I. K. to make peace at any cost, even if a new Brest-Litovsk treaty were necessary. There is no disputing the fact that at Minsk the Russians squandered the wealth of good opinion they had earned through three years of suffering and generosity in foreign politics. At Riga, Joffe was ordered to do that which would reestablish bolshevik moral credit. It is true, naturally, that Russia needs peace, yearns for it deeply. Until the Minsk conference the Polish war could have been called the only popular war Russia has had since Napoleon was driven across the Niemen. That terrible mistake, which squandered or seemed to have squandered all that had been fought for, probably deeply shook the Russian people's faith. But at Riga has been regained the hope of peace, which Russia, exhausted and stripped bare, needed so much. Had the Polish terms at Riga been such as to force a continuation of war, there would have been an end of Poland. Incidentally Russia would have suffered unbelievably as well; starvation, disease, and suffering would have stalked Dantesque through the land. The point has come where the Allies may perhaps make an end of Russia as a nation, as a people, by intervention on a grand scale; but only by a process of extermination and manufacture of chaos among 120,000,000 people can an end be put to the present government. No other government exists as a possibility to take its place. This is not merely my own opinion, but that of everybody who has recently been in Russia. It is also the opinion of leading Russians.

To return to the peace negotiations. Two days after the session at which the Moscow C. I. K.'s declaration had been read, a secret session of the Conference was held. Here Dombski read the Polish answer to this last-named document. And by way of parenthesis it may be stated at once that none of the Polish proposals ever were seriously discussed, being, as they were, vague and flabby in context, and for the most part intended for purposes of delay. At this same meeting, Joffe presented a complete draft of a preliminary treaty and armistice, including a boundary roughly known as the Brest-Litovsk line. In order to prevent further mystification and delay, this document by a studied indiscretion was given out to the press, a thing which to a certain extent strained the relations between the two delegations.

I think about now or at some time shortly afterwards, occurred an incident which rather characterizes the difference between the two bodies. The Poles presented one of their proposals, a long document and very complex. The hope, no doubt was, that a delay of several days would intervene while the Bolsheviks prepared their answer. But lo and behold! Joffe and Lorens, his secretary, and the other Russian delegates went into the other room for consultation, and after half an hour returned with the answer complete, in pencil it is true and not very legible, but complete!

Now, however, after this last conference, the patient took a turn for the better. Joffe and Dombski met privately, where Perle, Barliczki, and Grabski couldn't mess into matters. In short, secret diplomacy was inaugurated. And by the way, right here, although it may be to my disadvantage as a pressman, I must state quite frankly that no peace negotiation is possible except in secret. The open sessions of the Riga conference showed that. The formal interchange of speeches through interpreters, often about matters which could be arranged in a minute's private conversation, the inability to be frank and let the other fellow know what one really wanted because the Argus-eyed one was hovering about to make a scandal—these things proved themselves insuperable obstacles to making peace and gave the mischief makers like Grabski an endless opportunity for obstruction. But when Joffe and Dombski began to talk privately, things looked up. Some of the experts at the conference told me it was laughable to see Grabski and Perle and Barliczki's anxiety to be present at these talks.

At any rate, despite the formal declarations at the plenum, the whole problem now resolved itself into a question of boundaries. The result is now well known. I think Joffe hated to yield the corridor between Russia and Lithuania, not so much as an injury to Russia, but more as an abandonment of the Lithuania with which he had made a peace more or less providing for communicating boundaries which would let Lithuania live. The minor questions, particularly that of the gold payment, occupied many hours and discussions of the commission. The Poles started by demanding 310,000,000 rubles gold, and ended up by taking a hazy promise to have some sort of accounting after peace is signed. But eventually, despite delays, despite Polish success at the front, Joffe and Dombski settled the boundaries in their private talks, and then came the signing. I know that the Russians intend to keep this peace and turn it into a permanent one. I am sure Dombski wants to do the same. But the Poles are megalomaniac, as the Vilna affair shows. If they recommence the war, after having given the Bolsheviki time to settle with Wrangel, the Red Army will be in Warsaw finally.

From what I learned at very reliable sources in Riga, this peace is considered by the British as a French victory, especially with its adjunct of Vilna, a thing which was planned even during the negotiations. I think the British are getting ready to shake the French connection. The new combination, which I have heard mentioned frequently by Britishers, is Britain, Germany, and Russia.

In the next issue of THE NATION

The New German Spirit

By Kuno Francke

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Birth Control and the World Crisis

By S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF, M.D.

NOW, if ever, is the time for the discussion of birth control, in spite of the recent great loss of manhood in Europe, and to some extent in our own country. To any unbiased mind it must be evident that our actual experience before, during, and after the World War, which has, alas, not yet come to a complete termination, answers all objections to judicious birth control in its medical, social, economic, moral, and even spiritual aspects. What this world needs now—after the fearful catastrophe which was started by a nation in which unlimited procreation among rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated, the well and the sick, was not only encouraged but officially rewarded—is not a greater but a better population. The empire which sought world dominion and the enslavement of other nations had the highest birth-rate and the most rapid growth of population, and yet it was France, which by its birth control had produced not so many but better soldiers, that withstood the most terrific onslaughts of the enemy.

The world needs now and for all the future the very best kind of men and women, not servile masses blindly obeying war-drunk monarchs and militaristic rulers; not a mass of weaklings, bound to succumb before reaching manhood or womanhood, unable to serve or to produce. We need children, but only such as are welcome to the home which physically, mentally, and morally sound parents have provided, the parents being so situated economically as to give enough food, clothing, and playtime to their children and to live in comfort and to enjoy life themselves. The state will then be able to provide proper educational facilities for children, and child labor will be ended. Parents and children of the present generation should receive a training and education that, with the help of a wise government and enlightened statesmen, will be instrumental in creating a future race of true men and women, physically, mentally, and morally sound, images of their Creator.

I have often been asked what made me interested in birth control. A quarter of a century of practice among the tuberculous, rich and poor, in palatial homes, humble cottages, dreary tenements, and in overcrowded hospitals, has convinced me of the utter immorality of thoughtless procreation; yet my experience has been limited to this one disease of the masses. The suffering I have seen when I have had to refuse help because it was too late to prevent the despair of some poor, frail mother at the prospect of another inevitable confinement, and later the sight of a puny baby destined to disease, poverty, and misery, have helped to bring me to my present stand, fully aware of the opposition even among some of my professional friends.

The larger the family—among the masses—the more congested will be its quarters, the more unsanitary its environment. With each increase of the family, if no corresponding increase in the earning capacity of father or mother takes place, malnutrition and insufficient clothing will enter as factors to predispose to disease or to cause some already existing latent ailment to become active.

What is the result of this condition in relation to tuberculosis—one single disease? Out of 200,000 individuals who die from it annually in the United States, 50,000 are children. The economic loss alone, figuring the average child's life as seven and one-half years and its annual cost to the community at only $200, is $75,000,000. Consider in dollars and cents the loss of the countless mothers dead of tuberculosis when an unavoidable pregnancy was added to a slight and curable tuberculous ailment? And who will dare calculate the human suffering?

At least 50 per cent of women afflicted with tuberculosis, even when only in the relatively early and curable stages, die as a result of pregnancy which could have been avoided. Their lives might have been saved had they but known the means of prevention! Sometimes we succeed in saving such a mother by a timely and careful operation, but this, even when scientifically carried out and resorted to only with the view to saving the mother's life, is never desirable. Even under the best conditions such an operation is not devoid of danger. The loss of an equally large or perhaps larger number of mothers afflicted with serious cardiac or renal diseases, or frail or ill from other causes, whose lives could have been prolonged had an additional pregnancy not aggravated their condition, is impossible to estimate.

That insanity, idiocy, epilepsy, and alcoholic predisposition are often transmitted from parent to child is now universally admitted. Millions are expended for the maintenance of these mentally unfit. The State of New York alone spends $2,000,000 annually for its insane. Whether sterilization of these individuals would be the best remedy is still an open question, the constitutionality of which is, moreover, doubtful. Segregation is resorted to in the meantime with more or less rigor according to the laws of the particular State. Every year, however, many of the individuals formerly committed to institutions for treatment of mental disorders are discharged as cured. They are allowed to procreate their kind. Would it not be at least an economic saving if such individuals were instructed how not to bring into the world offspring almost certain to be mentally tainted and a burden to the community?

Thousands of young men and women, physically and morally strong, would gladly marry if they knew that they could restrict their family so as to rear a few children well. But their fear of large families retards, and often prevents, their happiness and, *ipso facto*, the procreation of a better and stronger manhood and womanhood. The woman withers away in sorrowful maidenhood, and the man, yielding to overmastering sexual instincts, seeks relief from unfortunate and often diseased prostitutes, with the resulting propagation of venereal disease and all their dire consequences—sterility, extreme physical and mental suffering, infection, pelvic disorders, miscarriage, premature labor, a dead child or one tainted with disease—a cripple or an idiot.

Even our moralists must acknowledge that many a girl married early to a man of her choice, enabled by understanding to limit the number of children, would be saved from what is called dishonor and in many instances from prostitution. One of the strongest arguments of our moralists and purists is that the knowledge of contraception would lead the young to enter forbidden sexual relations and degrade them morally. Granted that this may happen in a number of instances, the benefit derived from a diminution of venereal diseases, from a greater number of happy and

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successful marriages among the younger people, fewer but better and healthier procreation instead of the unrestricted procreation of the underfed, the tuberculous, the alcoholic, the degenerate, the feeble-minded, and the insane, would more than outweigh isolated instances of sexual intercourse prior to marriage.

I absolutely agree with our moral teachers when they say that self-control is possible—I believe it to be the cleanest, purest, and best preventive measure for family limitation—but while it may be easy for many it is not easy for all. Sociologically speaking, it is even more difficult when you deal with a married couple belonging to the poorer classes who cannot have separate bedrooms.

In countries where there are still thousands of people with little food, poor shelter, and insufficient clothing, birth control is absolutely essential if science is to combat tuberculosis and other plagues. I do not stand alone in this view. All students of the tuberculosis problem and the social problems in general that confront us here and in the war-stricken countries are of the same opinion. In a remarkable letter which appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* about a year ago, Dr. C. K. Millard, health officer of Leicester, England, wrote as follows:

The question of the birth-rate is intimately bound up with that of birth control. It is unfortunate that scientific study of the subject has been hitherto neglected. Owing to the supposed moral stigma, many had tabooed it, and it is only quite recently that unbiased discussion has become possible. The subject is of special interest and importance at the present day, through conditions arising out of the war. In many parts of Europe the social conditions of the people, with starvation staring them in the face, without proper clothing or shelter, with civilization itself broken down, are deplorable in the extreme. It appears eminently desirable that rigid birth control should be practiced in those countries, and probably in others also, if acute maternal suffering and terrible infant mortality are to be avoided. The best things for the people of those countries to do is temporarily to stop having children, so far as it can be avoided, until happier and more prosperous times arrive. It seems to be taken for granted in most countries that rapid increase in population is needed in the national interest, and that a stationary population would be disastrous. No doubt this sentiment is really based on militarist considerations, and in the past, when such considerations were vital, it might have been wise to encourage it. But now, with the international situation fundamentally altered, . . . it is time to reconsider our attitude. International competition in birth rates is to be avoided, just as is competition in armaments. There are certain countries which are already "saturated" as regards population, in the sense that any further increase would not tend to increase the happiness or prosperity of the inhabitants. Wherever that point has arrived, or is nearly at hand, birth control must be regarded as the proper remedy, and as greatly preferable, in most cases, to immigration. The case of England is complicated by the fact that she is the mother country of an empire. Many people would agree that the population of the British Isles is large enough, but they wanted to see her great colonies filled up with an all-British population. No doubt this is very patriotic, from the standpoint of conditions before the war; but from the point of view of the League of Nations they ought to regard their colonies as the natural outlet for the surplus population of all European countries. It is so necessary for the peace of Europe that such an outlet should exist that they need not be in any hurry to see those territories filled up.

Our daily press reports that in some sections of China the adult population is fleeing the famine-stricken country, leaving the helpless children behind to perish or in some instances tying them to trees to prevent them from following. Whole families commit suicide to avoid starving to death. To teach birth control in over-populated Asia is as much our concern as the concern of the Oriental governments. We are appealed to whenever there is a food famine in China or India and do our best to come to the rescue; but would it not be better to prevent over-population? We are establishing medical colleges in China to teach the cure and prevention of disease along modern lines. For these colleges also to teach the native physicians birth limitation, that they in turn may teach the masses, is the only way whereby over-population can be prevented. Regarding the present and future population, not only of China and India, but of our entire planet, some significant facts are given by Mr. G. H. Knibbs of Melborne, the statistician of the Commonwealth of Australia. He puts the population of the earth for the year 1914 at 1,649,000,000. The annual rate of increase in the world's population according to his estimates is so great that should such a rate be continued, it must soon result in a severe strain on nature's resources.

So great an authority on finance and social economics as Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip said in the New York *Times* as recently as October 17 that,

"there are 700,000,000 more mouths now than a generation ago. This means that 700,000,000 more people are to be fed and clothed and housed. It means the economic interdependence of the whole world, because some of the nations have reached the point of saturation in point of population. It means that these countries cannot raise enough food to feed their people. It means that 100,000,000 people in Europe are dependent on the outside world for subsistence. It means that one-half of the people in England are fed from beyond its borders. It means that Japan has grown so in population that it cannot feed its people. The list might be extended indefinitely."

As a remedy this distinguished American recommends closer affiliation among the nations of the world, either by a League of Nations or an Association of Nations. This may be a great help, but may I ask Mr. Vanderlip what will be the lot of the next generation to which will be added another 700,000,000, or the next following generation with a like increase? Will there always be sufficient food even with the help of the most perfect and most humane international relations? I seriously doubt it, and I absolutely agree with Mr. Knibbs when he asks whether medical men in future will take a stand in favor of so colossal a population that the masses will scarcely be provided with bare necessaries of life, or whether they will favor the limitation of births in such a manner that the population of the earth shall never be greater than can be adequately provided for on a high plane of physical, mental, and moral existence.

To solve the many economic, social, sanitary, moral, and even spiritual problems which confront the entire civilized world at this moment, we must devote our energies not toward a numerically greater but toward a qualitatively better humanity. Let us not have fewer but more marriages; create schools or courses where the young father and mother can be instructed by competent physicians in all that will tend to make their family life what it should be and their offspring not unwelcome burdens but welcome additions, and only in such numbers as will assure them a happy, healthy childhood.

It has been said that there is no sure or safe or even absolutely harmless contraceptive. This is not the place to discuss that question, but if it should be so, it is the duty of the medical profession to find such methods, and it is the duty of an enlightened government to allow at least as large

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a sum for the study of how to prevent bad human stock and to produce the best, as it is willing to spend to promote the production of the best cattle, hogs, or other animals!

The one country which in this world crisis has suffered least, which is economically prosperous, happy, and socially tranquil, whose population has increased in longevity and whose young men of military age have increased in stature and vigor (one-third of our young men at draft age had to be rejected because of physical disabilities), is Holland. A birth control league has functioned there, effectually aided by birth control clinics, since 1884, and in 1895 the league secured legal sanction by a royal decree. In this great country we could also be happy, healthy, and prosperous if we would start our home life and our children in the right way. A mentally and physically sound child, trained in a home with opportunity for intellectual, moral, and spiritual development, is the greatest asset to a republic, the only safeguard for the peace of the world.

A Western Reverie

By NATALIE CURTIS

IN a high valley of the Rockies I sit with an open book, gazing across vivid patches of alfalfa to where the lemon desert streaks the base of the hills which girdle the horizon with blue and purple. Out on the open range lean cattle are grazing. The environment seems in itself a touchstone to test the truth of the "Songs of the Cattle Trail," so admirably put together by John A. Lomax. The Old West is passing and before long will live only in story and song. A phase of life so daringly individual, so starkly masculine, so strong-sinewed deserves a wider reflex in the art, music, and letters of America. So we welcome these "Songs of the Cattle Trail"; for even though they may not all come under the head either of art, literature, or folk-song, they ring with the hoof-beat of the cattleman's West and should rouse us anew to the artistic material in the American life beyond cities—in the wide-flung spaces, the big heavens, the sun-tanned, care-free, grim-jawed, half-humorous, half-profane spirit of the frontiers that dared God and the devil upright, while mastering wild cattle, wild horses, and a wilderness. Though the cowboy, often thrown utterly on his own endurance in a hand-to-hand tussle with an elemental world, helped shape that world for men, he was at the same time himself shaped by it. Scorching sun, wind, sudden cloud-bursts, thirst, exhaustion, violent danger, loneliness, isolation from ties of home-women—all had their part in carving a character self-reliant, crude, and powerful, yet almost pathetically chivalrous to those few women who might "swim into the ken" of the cowboy through some other channel than the dance-hall. Whatever may be the literary poverty of the verse in Mr. Lomax's book, the poems are true to type. The Cowboy, The Ranger, Denver Jim, The Texas Cowboy and The Mexican Greaser—these heroes of song still exist in the West today, for there are outposts where it is not yet true (as rather mournfully stated in The Disappointed Tenderfoot) that

> The West hez gone to the East, my son,
> An' it's only in tents sich things is done.

As I write, I think I hear some cowboy drily comment, as did an old-timer when I read to him a criticism of his verse by an Eastern editress, "Sufferin' rattlesnakes! Where'd *she* git her illumination!" My apologia, humbly offered, is the fact that much of my life has been spent in that West which is still "wild." I have ridden with cowboys, sung with them, seen round-ups and broncho-busting, spent months amid a thousand head of cattle on one of the loneliest ranges in Arizona, devoid of all intercourse with the outside world save for visits of wayfaring Indians or stray sheep-herders seeking water at our springs. We lived chiefly on cornmeal and occasional bacon. A thousand head of cattle, but neither beef nor milk! It was a harsh, rudimentary existence, but it was full of soul-searching solitude, and the memory of it makes me appreciate the spirit, at least, in the poem The Cowboy Alone with His Conscience:

> His sins 'll come a-ridin' through his cranium roughshod
> When thar ain't nobody near him, 'ceptin' God.

When the men left to "ride the range" and I was alone in the cabin with a Colt revolver for companion; when I heard the plaintive sob of the wood-pigeon in the cedars—the prelude to the choir of coyotes who would howl at the rising moon; when I realized that should any strange man try to enter (in which case I had been instructed to "shoot") I might call forever and though the sandstone cliffs might send back my voice no human soul could hear or come—then I understood the note of utter loneliness that sounds in many a cowboy song. And later, when the cattle were driven in to the branding, and the struggling, panicky herds with their rolling eyeballs seemed a cloud of yelling dust, I realized, too, of what fiber the cowboy must be: alert, wiry, tireless, with nerve as merciless as the branding iron. It was a Spartan life, that of the cow-puncher, and the weakling perished. It took strong men to carve an elemental industry out of a savage land—it summoned a spirit of adventure backed by grim determination. Even cowboy humor has a flavor of defiance of man and nature and a consciousness of the strength of the individual who pits his paltry human hand against the wilderness; a rough swagger, if you will, that is not without crude greatness.

For the puncher is as good as anybody, if not a little better. Cowboy reminiscence tells of how in old days an English lord who had large cattle interests in America, came over to see things for himself. He was shocked at the democratic familiarity of the "cow-servants" as he termed them, and suggested to one of them that it might be appropriate to call him "my lord." "Pardner," replied the puncher, "I'm afraid that word would plumb bust my vocabellary wide open! How would it do if I was jest to call you my little ring-tailed monkey, for short?" A broad-shouldered independence in human relations is only the surface indication of that bed-rock self-reliance which asks no favors, offers no obeisance, and scorns weakness of any kind, even aspiring toward fundamental strength in things eternal. In a striking poem by a frontiersman (as yet unpublished) the author, with crude dignity, asks the God to whom he has "never prayed nor bent the knee" not to save his soul and build him mansions in the sky, but just to give him the power to be a man, that he may save his own soul!

The anonymous verses which make up fully half of Mr. Lomax's volume have far more of the home-made quality and less of newspaper flavor than some of the signed poems. They chant, too, with the sing-song that suggests that a tune was their mother. Curiously enough, the only poem in free verse is by a half-breed Indian cowboy, James Fox,

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whose rhythmic tread of line (pointed out by Mr. Lomax) echoes the footstep of America's great naturalist in art, Walt Whitman, of whom the cowboy-singer had never heard. In the poem Where the Grizzly Bear Dwells there is a dignity of aspiration typically Indian; and if the untutored author could forget such oft-heard white-man phrases as "trusty steed," "human habitations," "virginal beauty," and the like, and seek in his own Indian blood the native imagery, we might have in James Fox a real poet.

Most of the "Songs of the Cattle Trail" are attempts to paint local color and character through dialect—cowboy lingo put into verse. They lack the entire simplicity and the unconsciousness of the old ballads. But it must be affirmed that the poems of Charles Badger Clark, Jr., have a fine flare of imagination. The cowboys have made High Chin Bob their own, and no doubt the homelification (if one may so express it) of some of the lines, which is already taking place through oral transmission, will continue till the man who roped the mountain lion on the "Glory Trail" will become a real folk-hero. Surely, no author could ask a better fate for his hero than such a flattering absorption out of literature into life. Mr. Clark's Boastful Bill is also a figure worthy of popular transmogrification. Shot aloft by a bucking broncho, he declares, nothing phased, that he is "off to bust the lightnin'—Adiós!" And thereafter, when the cowboys shiver in their slickers in the driving thunderstorms, they think they hear "Old Boastful" calling to them from the clouds: "I'm a ridin' son o' thunder o' the sky." But they still expect him:

> Star dust on his chaps and saddle,
> Scornful still of jar and jolt,
> He'll come back some time a-straddle
> Of a bald-faced thunderbolt.

That the ranger loves his life and would not "swop" with a king seems only natural to those who have breathed the free air of deserts, plains, and mountains and must forever after pine among the close-elbowing cities of men. A Texas cowboy said to me in Arizona: "Yes, I had to leave old Pan Handle; they commenced puttin' fences on Texas. Gee! I'd smother in a land where there was fences! When they git to spoilin' Arizona, too, I guess it's the Happy Hunting Ground for me!" Mr. Clark expresses this feeling:

> When my old soul hunts range and rest
> Beyond the last divide,
> Just plant me in some stretch of West
> That's sunny, lone, and wide.
> Let cattle rub my tombstone down
> And coyotes mourn their kin,
> Let hawses paw and tramp the moun'—
> But don't you fence it in!

In the poem Riders of the Stars by Henry Herbert Knibbs, the cowboys are consumed with restlessness in heaven—they must have been surprised to find themselves there, for in their own songs they are usually frankly though sometimes contritely headed hell-ward! They petition the "Marster":

> Give us a range and our horses and ropes, open the Pearly Gate,
> And turn us loose in the unfenced blue riding the sunset rounds,
> Hunting each stray in the Milky Way and running the Rancho straight,
> Not crowding the dogie stars too much on their way to the bedding-grounds.

There is here hinted the prophecy that American mythology may yet hold the image of a viewless rider, barked by coyotes, sweeping the sky lariat in hand, on the "trail of a shooting star"!

If the love-lyrics grouped by Mr. Lomax under the heading "The Cowboy off his Guard" seem mawkish, let us excuse them in the words of an old-timer who thus unbosomed himself to me: "Cowboys is sentimental. They're downright mushy with it at times. You see, they're always in some place where their homes *ain't*. And when a man's ridin' alone all day, or maybe night-herdin', he gits to thinkin'. And if he sings to keep hisself company, like as not he'll sing about some old mother what used to love him, or some sweetheart. And if he meets a good woman—jimminy! He'll go plumb off his head!" For all his swagger, the cowboy has a soft human spot, an Achilles heel. If he worships anything, it is her who means all that the lost world of home and childhood and gentler things ever held for him. The verse sings true:

> You wonders why I slicks up so
> On Sundays when I gits to go
> To see her—well, I'm free to say
> She's like religion that a-way.
> Jes' sort o' like some holy thing,
> As clean as young grass in the spring.

Many of the "Songs of the Cattle Trail" are worth little, perhaps, in themselves. Collected, they form both a picture and a plea: a picture of a vitally individual and highly-colored life that is rapidly fading into the monotone of a mechanical civilization; a plea for a deeper, finer art-interpretation of that life. It may be that some super-tenderfoot who has never known the West or felt the touch of saddle leather will say of these verses as did a music-critic of the cowboy song which I arranged for mixed chorus—"*Vulgar!*" But most of us will thank Mr. Lomax for his enthusiasm and his compilations which put the whiff of sage-brush, the feel of sun, and the music of ponies' hoofs between book-covers even though the medium be the uncouth language of raw America in the making. And let us remember, if we look down on the cowboy for his ignorance of the finer parts of speech, he has a still greater contempt for the man who cannot master danger, single-handed. Even a high-brow education sometimes falls short of its own claims in his estimation. I remember with what joy we discovered a wheezy old square piano in a town near a railroad, and my own subsequent humiliation when San Francisco Dan exclaimed with crushing disappointment: "And her music, it was 'cultured' in Paris—yet she don't know The Moskeeter Parade!"

Contributors to This Issue

HAROLD A. LITTLEDALE is a reporter on the New York *Evening Post* who has made a thorough study of the rehabilitation of our crippled soldiers.

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In the Driftway

THOSE who, like the Drifter, dislike nine-year-old chess champions and twelve-year-old college freshmen, are accused of jealousy, and in a measure the charge may be merited. Jealousy aside, however, child prodigies really are worthy rather of pity than of praise, and their parents of something other than felicitation. In the last analysis it is the parents, not the prodigies, that should be shunned by normal persons who enter college decently at the age of seventeen or eighteen, and learn a passable game of chess at fifty-five. Whatever their avowed motive in teaching little Mary to read Sanskrit at eleven, the result is that Mary's parents' pictures appear in the Sunday supplements. No doubt they would indignantly deny any such purpose. But a child prodigy, when permitted excessive publicity, is only a few steps removed from a prize pig. He has been trained for exhibition purposes and his owner comes in for reflected glory. Meanwhile the prodigy's main diversion must inevitably be something akin to speculation on the fourth dimension. He is probably bored by his contemporaries, and they would no more think of accepting him on equal terms than they would a grown person. He has not, indeed, even the standing of a grown person, who, though a queer fish at times, is at least a recognized, normal phenomenon with certain definite uses. His older associates scorn him equally, partly from jealousy, partly from a time-honored aversion to anything out of the ordinary and unlike themselves. They toil at resisting an education; he, strange, unwelcome creature, is diligently trying to acquire one ahead of time.

* * * * *

IT is not that twelve years is necessarily too immature an age to enter college, or that one should not master chess at nine. When Harvard and Yale were young a twelve-year-old freshman would have excited little comment, and at the present day the Drifter suspects that the amount of information that soaks into the average undergraduate in four winters and three summer vacations could be acquired by almost any child prodigy in six months. But when the mean age for college freshmen is something less than eighteen, a twelve-year-old boy, being immeasurably different, becomes a little tragic. He is let severely alone, and his only recourse is to draw within himself and echo Jack Horner's consoling words. If he does not emerge from college an insufferable little prig, it is because he is much sounder at heart than his parents deserve. Some enterprising person, a prodigy grown up or parent to a prodigy, may some day compile statistics to show that a fair percentage of precocious children live to deserve well of the world. John Stuart Mill was a prodigy, and Count Witte grew up into a very useful citizen, but most prodigies seem to fade away from the public eye about the time that their contemporaries grow up. They have infinitely vaster stores of information than the average person, but there is not yet reason to suppose that they put this information to any better use. And no statistics will ever be assembled to prove that they have half as good a time as the comparatively stupid and backward boy next door, to whom school is a prison from whose unrealities, as near three o'clock as he can manage it, he leaps joyously forth into a gracious and welcoming world.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The British Attitude Toward Confiscation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Referring to the editorial paragraph in *The Nation* of November 10, in which the supposed "renunciation" by Great Britain of the confiscation of German private property is praised as "a notable act of conciliation and good faith," I beg leave to point out that the press reports on the subject seem to have produced an erroneous impression. All the British Government did was to announce that it did not intend to exercise its right under paragraph 18, Annex II, Part VIII, of the Treaty of Versailles, to make further seizures of the property of German nationals in Great Britain, in case of voluntary default by Germany in respect of her reparation obligations. The paragraph in question reads: "The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances." The British Government did not even make a general renunciation of the right reserved in this paragraph, but merely declared that, in case such measures should be taken, they would not include the seizure of the property of German nationals in the United Kingdom or under its control, whether such property was in the form of bank balances or of goods in British bottoms or of goods sent to that country for sale. In the House of Commons, on October 28, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking for the Government, explained that this decision was not taken in consequence of German representations nor "dictated by regard for German interests," but was inspired by the fact that the threat of future seizures "injuriously affected British interests without offering any real security for the execution of the Treaty," since it would necessarily have the effect of keeping private German property and in particular private bank balances out of the country. The paragraph had, he said, in fact operated "merely to keep business away from London and to make Germans keep their balances in neutral countries, a course which was inconvenient to all parties and involved clear loss" to Great Britain "without any countervailing advantage." In reply to the criticism that the British Government had acted without the concurrence of the Allies, Mr. Chamberlain stated that the words of the paragraph clearly left it "to the respective Governments" to determine what action might be necessary thereunder; that, in the opinion of the British Government, it would have been both unnecessary and undesirable to seek to share the responsibility of the decision with the other Allies; but that the decision when reached was, as a matter of courtesy, immediately communicated to the other Powers through the Ambassadors' Council, and also to the Reparation Commission through the British delegate.

The dissatisfaction said to have been created in France by the decision of the British Government no doubt was due to the general sense of disapproval in that country of any action tending in any way to relax the enforcement of the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

New York, November 9 JOHN BASSETT MOORE

[In this case, once more, *The Nation* was misled by incorrect press reports, on which the paragraph in question was based. A dispatch from Paris printed in the New York *Times* of October 28 stated that "the French Foreign Office received official notification today that Great Britain renounces the right of confiscation of German property in the United Kingdom."—EDITOR THE NATION.]

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Mr. Flood's Party

By EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON

Old Eben Flood, climbing alone one night
Over the hill between the town below
And the forsaken upland hermitage
That held as much as he should ever know
On earth again of home, paused and observed.
The road was his with not a native near;
And Eben, having leisure, said aloud,
For no man else in Tilbury Town to hear:

"Well, Mr. Flood, we have the harvest moon
Again, and we may not have many more;
The bird is on the wing, the poet says,
And you and I have said it here before.
Drink to the bird." He raised up to the light
The jug that he had gone so far to fill,
And answered huskily: "Well, Mr. Flood,
Since you propose it, I believe I will."

Alone, as if enduring to the end
A valiant armor of scarred hopes outworn,
He stood there in the middle of the road
Like Roland's ghost winding a silent horn.
Below him, in the town among the trees,
Where friends of other days had honored him,
A phantom salutation of the dead
Rang thinly till old Eben's eyes were dim.

Then, as a mother lays her sleeping child
Down tenderly, fearing it may awake,
He set the jug down slowly at his feet
With trembling care, knowing that most things break;
And only when assured that on firm earth
It stood, as the uncertain lives of men
Assuredly did not, he paced away,
And with his hand extended paused again:

"Well, Mr. Flood, we have not met like this
In a long time; and many a change has come
To both of us, I fear, since last it was
We had a drop together. Welcome home!"
Convivially returning with himself,
Again he raised the jug up to the light;
And with an acquiescent quaver said:
"Well, Mr. Flood, if you insist, I might.

"Only a very little, Mr. Flood—
For auld lang syne. No more, sir; that will do."
So, for the time, apparently it did,
And Eben evidently thought so too;
For soon amid the silver loneliness
Of night he lifted up his voice and sang,
Secure, with only two moons listening,
Until the whole harmonious landscape rang—

"For auld lang syne." The weary throat gave out,
The last word wavered; and the song being done,
He raised again the jug regretfully
And shook his head, and was again alone.
There was not much that was ahead of him,
And there was nothing in the town below—
Where strangers would have shut the many doors
That many friends had opened long ago.

Books

The Latest Horrors of War

Secrets of Crewe House. By Sir Campbell Stuart. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THE secrets of Crewe House are out: the doings of British war propaganda are retailed, as the "story of a famous campaign," by Sir Campbell Stuart, K.B.E., who was Northcliffe's deputy in running the Department of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. This volume with its maps, Foreign Office memoranda, and secret intelligence papers sets forth how, at the Allies' darkest hour, on the eve of the March (1918) offensive, 10,000,000 soldiers, generals, and field marshals being stumped, Viscount Northcliffe, and experts, strode upon the field, pointed out that beyond the Alps lies Austria-Hungary, and with paper-balloon, leaflet-scattering airplane, leaflet-shooting rocket, long-range cinematograph, and thrilling gramophone so deluged the cohorts of the Dual Monarchy that Hapsburgs and subject nationalities blew up and crashed down; even "the Piave rose and converted the attack into disaster"; and in July when the German tide was at flood and poor soldiers still knew not whether to fight or run, Viscount Northcliffe, and experts, turned on Germany and sent over 2,172,794 leaflets in July, 3,958,116 in August, 3,175,000 in September, 5,360,000 in October, with results contemporaneously noted in the newspapers. The book also tells how, a month before the armistice, Viscount Northcliffe, *et al.*, turned to "peace propaganda."

The achievement of the British propagandists is not to be sneezed at. No propaganda can be sneezed at. What is the terror of the times? For example, what is the war-horror par excellence which keeps the Allies from recognizing Russia? Propaganda. "We would make peace with you," say the victorious nations, "we would quit starving you, but we are afraid you won't drop your horrible propaganda. We don't fear your guns or your bombing planes or even your typhus—but for God's sake shut your mouth." Future historians may well marvel and chew their quills. If they will read this record, envied by Ludendorff, they will grasp more clearly the sort of thing Lloyd George and Millerand mean when they knit their brows at Moscow.

Sir Campbell Stuart celebrates that juggernaut, efficiency. What Lenin longs for when he prescribes the Taylor System for Russian factories, Northcliffe's experts put into British propaganda. They unscrambled the Allies' case, de-muddled the argument so that even Huns could see. Here are the rules:

"Propaganda subject-matter must not be self-evidently propagandist. Except in special circumstances its origin should be completely concealed. As a general rule, too, it is desirable to hide the channels of communication.

"Creation of a 'favorable atmosphere' is the first object of propaganda.

"First of all axioms of propaganda is that only truthful statements be made. Secondly, there must be no conflicting arguments."

That is, you do not have to begin by answering Pilate's question; you must simply be sure that your truth is not knocked out by a friendly Ally's truth; and having agreed on truth you organize to put it over. Northcliffe coordinated. Experts like Wickham Steed, H. G. Wells, Sir Sidney Low, etc., had the good sense to trail a good coordinator. Then you are referred for verdict to that Napoleon of organization, the Chief Quartermaster General of the German Army, one Ludendorff, his "War Memories." You learn that on propaganda Ludendorff "was right in his theories; for they coincided in large degree with the principles upon which Viscount Northcliffe based his famous intensive campaign from Crewe House. His verdict is an unqualified tribute, as the extracts from his writings show."

You believed during the war that the change in Allied policy toward Austria, turning from seduction to dismemberment, was

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the slow cumulative result of the failure of the first policy, Wilson's predilection for self-determination, the Russian upheaval, the agitations of Czech, Serb, and Polish national committees? Read how Wickham Steed got Northcliffe to get Balfour to get the War Cabinet to make up their minds at last as to what they were really fighting the war about, as regards Austria, and to say it. The word cleared the way for the juggernaut. Through congresses at London and Rome, chancelleries' pronouncements (despite a hitch by Lansing and a balk by Sonnino), through the polyglot press at Reggio, the efficient machine functioned, and the reward of well-oiled translators and picked talking-machine records bloomed in desertion, riot, and mutiny in the enemy's land.

You believed the League of Nations was the spontaneous fair flower of war-hating idealism? Read how H. G. Wells, Director of the German Department, took the free-floating idea of the League of Free Nations and put it in a strait-jacket for propaganda purposes, codified it, and got it sanctioned by the Government as that vitally-needed but long-missing joint Allied statement of peace terms. The kind of German for whom this League was dished up was clear in mind. Wells's memorandum on "how to change Germany," prepared for the Foreign Office, is quoted:

"The word *Revolution* is, perhaps, to be deprecated. We do not, for instance, desire a Bolshevik breakdown in Germany, which would make her economically useless to mankind. We look, therefore, not so much to the German peasant and laborer as to the ordinary, fairly well educated mediocre German for cooperation in the reinstatement of civilization."

There is hinted a thing not openly confessed in propaganda histories, that one reason for putting efficiency into propaganda was to keep the result from being Bolshevism. The British took thought that any revolution in Germany should be the right kind. So, with the rest of the grist, the League was got into Germany, smuggled in by railway porters and postal clerks, eased in "through the book trade," or whispered in through enemy correspondents "who were carefully nursed." The "pill was sugar coated" to suit; "clandestine" was the word; a triumph to chuckle over was a thing which from the outside looked like an edition of standard German authors, but within was Lichnowski or Muehlon.

Now as the officer at G. H. Q. having immediate responsibility for the American Army's propaganda against the enemy, I must assert, with whatever authority or bias the experience afforded, that American propaganda was different. Sir Campbell concedes that in the Inter-Allied propaganda conferences the Americans sat only "as observers, as pupils"; he omits the reason, which was that President Wilson wisely would not authorize any closer participation. The British lessons were very enlightening, rousing sincere respect for Crewe House expertness and making quite plain that their principles and practice in some phases could not be ours. We can be sanctimonious about that now; we were then. We were in no such fix as the British, French, and Italians; we had much less to "explain." Our moral position was grand. We couldn't be anything else but straightforward and aboveboard, honestly telling the enemy how our soldiers were fighting and what Wilson was saying on Leagues of Nations and how the A. E. F. took Germans prisoner and fattened them.

Perhaps this will illustrate our difference from those principles of "concealing the origin," etc., of "sound propaganda." We were planning—the armistice ruined it—*The International Bulletin: Distributed on both sides of the lines by the American Army*, a bilingual newspaper, with precisely that heading, to be our main vehicle of "prop." The point of difference was that we meant really to distribute it to the A. E. F. as well as to the Germans, printed in parallel columns of English and German, designed to be as much quoted an authority in Paris and Washington as in Berlin. Some at G. H. Q. were suspicious of it; they feared for the war if two armies got to arguing the same points; they seemed to think that we had in mind having the armies fight all day, then cross lines and argue all evening; and they wondered if the war would stand the fearful strain.

Another example will point the difference. When the armies of occupation moved up into the Rhineland the British propaganda liaison officer came asking if we would cooperate in a new propaganda drive; and learning that our organization was demobilized he asked if I would use my "influence" (bless his innocence) to have America "take part in the propaganda for a separatist Rhine Republic"! Sir Campbell's last chapter describes how the British Department in October set to work to "explain" what Wilson meant by the Fourteen Points and to lay out the peace treaty.

This complacent book is ludicrous, not because it takes for granted that all it aimed to achieve was achieved; nor because it omits due credit to French propaganda (more extensive than British) and Russian (not even mentioned); but because it tries to get glory out of war. War has become such difficult material for glorification! Sincere and able Englishmen were enmeshed in the propaganda business, and the abler they were the less they bragged. While the real soldiers died in unparalleled numbers in ending the fighting, bright and breezy officers were having a wonderful time at Crewe House, winning the war. These unspeakable words end the book:

"Crewe House will always be remembered for its propaganda politics for which, as has truly been said, it became as well known in the Chancelleries of Europe as it had been in Great Britain for so long as a social center for national politics."

HEBER BLANKENHORN

Morale as Morality

Morale: The Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct. By G. Stanley Hall. D. Appleton and Company.

WHEN he had long been engaged in studying with pedagogical eyeglasses the condition of the American drafted army, it came to the President of Clark University, as an afterthought probably, that the quality most desired and cultivated in the soldier was the highest of ethical qualities, the *summum bonum* of the new, naturalistic dispensation. The gospel he preaches "is simply this—to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, industrial, social, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition." The chief end of man is always "to be in the pink"; and the new teacher will say: "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own good condition; or what will a man give in exchange for his good condition?" If we are not "in business for our health" we ought to be.

Before inquiring into the fundamental consistency of Mr. Hall's thesis, it is pleasant to recognize that in details he has made many a shrewd, homely, and wholesome criticism of current ideas and practices. There is a Whitman-like exuberance about the man that floods and cleanses some of the dirty streets of our civilization like the water from a hydrant. He sees nothing but ghosts and bugbears in what he calls "the rebulations of Sir Oliver Lodge," nothing but a "genteel invalidism" in American liberal Protestant religion, and nothing but outworn supernaturalism in the Catholic church. He is nothing if not thorough in applying his system to all branches of life. There must be a new economy of religion in which God is completely "subjectified." Sexual standards should be referred entirely to health; the modern lover, apparently will say: "I could not love thee, dear, so much, loved I not my own soundness of body more." In social matters the present regime is identified with morale, and bolshevism and socialism with diseases to be eradicated by a proper course of diet, rest, recreation, and domestic life for the workman.

The test of an ethical, as of any philosophical, system lies largely in its own intrinsic consistency. Can morale be made an end in itself? Mr. Hall seems to concede that it cannot by his very elaborate directions as to how to produce it artificially.

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It can be secured, according to him, not only as the natural secretion of a good life, but also by the application of a number of tonics, stimulants, and bolusus of thoughts that "happify" and encourage. After remarking parenthetically that one could imagine nothing more depressing than such a regime of moral invalidism, we must observe that if it is worth while producing morale by these means it is evidently not an end in itself. Morale may be needed to make the soldier a good fighter and the civilian a good man in other respects, but in neither case is it the final goal. In fact, this new system of ethics is but a disguised hedonism or eudaemonism; a consecrated egoism of self-worship and self-culture. There was once a man who thought piety could be produced artificially, just as Mr. Hall thinks morality can be. The name of the former was Ignatius Loyola; his "Spiritual Exercises" taught efficiency, subtlety, success—everything but what he sought.

Moreover, Mr. Hall's ethics lead to certain logical consequences quite intolerable to the natural feelings of the race. Are there no ideals of truth or love to which a civilian may properly sacrifice his health and even his happiness? Mr. Hall admits that the soldier's morale is useless unless he exposes himself to the danger of death and mutilation in battle. His "tip-top condition" is fatted like the stalled ox only to be worthy of the butcher's knife. And every true man knows that he admires the heroes who have devoted themselves to a great cause without counting the cost. Over against the ideal of moral health, admirable as far as it goes but not final, must be set the ideal of moral beauty. Admitting, with Mr. Hall, that the supernatural sanctions have failed, we are not forced to fall back for guidance on our lowest impulses, but on those which instinctively most men recognize as higher. The sow of imperial augury, lying white on the ground with her thirty pigs around her, abounded in health, but she was not a beautiful sight. It is just on this side that the taste of the preacher of morale as the supreme standard will fail him. The style of the book under review is symbolic of its weakness. It appears to be the product of what he calls "exuberant, euphorious, and eureka moments"; it delights in newly coined, rare, and strange words. Now and then little turns of phrase or metaphor mow like gargoyles from the author's roof. The man who can recommend "tenderness to fleas" as one of the typical exhibitions of a soldier's chivalry; the man who can seriously and in grotesque detail compare the manifestation of French patriotism with the acme of sexual love; the man who recommends "growing hair on the chest of your soul" as the ideal, may be a wonderfully healthy specimen, but he is hardly as "insightful" in moral matters as are some of the apostles of the standards of conscience and honor whom he derides.

PRESERVED SMITH

Real Terror and False

Side Issues. By Jeffery E. Jeffery. Thomas Seltzer, Inc.
The New Decameron. Volume the Second. Robert M. McBride and Company.
Silent, White and Beautiful and Other Stories. By Tod Robbins. Boni and Liveright.

A PREFATORY note to Mr. Jeffery's volume shows the conditions of the British magazines to be very nearly the same as those of our own. Two and only two of his stories enjoyed periodical publication. And those two stories, true and agreeable enough in their own way, are the only ones in his volume that might have been written by an hundred other writers and that are wholly lacking in the qualities that lend his volume its very uncommon distinction. For of the remaining twelve stories it may be said without hesitation that they rank with the work of Barbusse and Latzko. They are firm and quiet; they have neither the Frenchman's prophetic ardor nor the Austrian's fevered passion; they are likely to make far less noise in the world; their very coolness and moderation will stand in the way of their success. But they are memorable because they are both beautiful and incorruptibly intelligent. Nor are they, in any flagrant sense, stories with a purpose. Mr. Jeffery writes because he has experienced.

He was, he tells us in his epilogue, a subaltern in the regular British army in August, 1914. He believed that God "had ordained a war, at a moment so auspicious for the empire"; he believed, "with more certainty, in the genius, the infallibility, the integrity of the same empire." Today he writes The Altar of Drums. He has achieved that great insight, undergone that great conversion, which, rare and forlorn as it may seem, is more significant for the future of human civilization than battles or treaties. Out of the depth of that insight he writes, and it is remarkable how, on his own ground and guided wholly by first-hand observation, he comes to precisely the conclusions in regard to the character of the military mind to which Barbusse came in France and Latzko in Austria. But such general considerations do little justice to the concrete excellence of Mr. Jeffery's stories. His method varies. He has no formula. The technique of the short story is plastic in his hands. A Lost Soul, Noblesse Oblige, and My Lady of Horton are character sketches rendered complete and dramatic by their implications; Equality of Sacrifice and In Token of Gratitude are compact narratives giving the war experience of two humble men; The Revellers is a vision and an apologue; Dam' Good Fellers consists of a bundle of letters. Each of these seven stories is a little masterpiece of scrupulous observation and imaginative insight. The characterization is often ironic, but never violently or unjustly so. Beneath all the wounds of circumstance a deep sobriety of spirit curbs the author's temptation to sacrifice truth to effectiveness and persuades him to set down only the permanent and permanently human.

The second volume of "The New Decameron" is somewhat more lurid than the first. Even the machinery by which the stories are connected threatens toward the end a rather melodramatic explosion. The characterization of the members of the company, which had so large a share in the freshness of the first volume's appeal, is becoming a little mechanical and rigid. Too many of the tales themselves depend on the false somberness of what one might call the British Scotland Yard school of fiction. They compete with the best of their kind. But a monotony of violence hovers over the volume. Bread Upon the Waters and Once Upon a Time are anecdotes of an ancient, racy, and honorable kind. The History of Andrew Miggs, The Tool, The Affair of the Mulhaven Baby, and A Player Perforce are all tales of crime and horror. They are skilful and have a kind of dark luster. But "The New Decameron," to carry on its excellent plan, must be, like the "Canterbury Tales" which its general method recalls, more variously human in substance and in modulation. The necessarily personal and anecdotal kind of narrative used ought actually to make for a constant shift of key and mood. But the authors, most of whom are but little known in this country, seem united chiefly by their taste for artificial gloom and dark intrigue. Their inventiveness in plot and ingenuity in structure are remarkable. But these are not high qualities in fiction. "The New Decameron" needs not, indeed, cheerfulness, but sunlight; less smell of the charnel house and more of the earth.

Mr. Tod Robbins, who is an American, is also a dealer in horrors. He is less adroit than his British colleagues, but he works in a better tradition. Their master was Conan Doyle or even Gaboriau; his was Poe. And there is no doubt that he has an eerie fancy, great fertility of invention, and not a little psychological insight. But he is unequal to the point of eccentricity. Two of his four narratives, Wild Wullie, the Waster and Who Wants a Green Bottle, are simply inept. Silent, White and Beautiful, on the other hand, has an original and strangely vivid central idea. If the aim of this sort of story is to stun the reader for a moment, that aim is here achieved. The im-

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pulse of the protagonist, moreover, wild as the form it assumes, is well grounded in human nature. For Art's Sake is below Silent, White and Beautiful in merit. But it, too, with all its monstrous details, is based on powerful and familiar motives. It is a fantastic reductio ad absurdum of the dehumanized cult of art and throws about well-known New York localities an air of lurking terror. Thus, in his own kind, Mr. Robbins is no ordinary writer. If he is young he may have, in his peculiar manner, rather brilliant possibilities. But he must learn to exercise self-criticism or have his manuscripts edited by an honest friend.

Books in Brief

THERE are many arguments against the knowledge and practice of birth control, but not one of them is good. A Federal statute fathered by Anthony Comstock and crowded through Congress with two hundred and sixty other acts at the close of the session in 1873, declares all information concerning contraceptive methods to be obscene. The well-to-do, as a rule, get at the knowledge thus hidden, and regulate their offspring; the poor do neither. Thus a law made and executed by a privileged class, which itself evades the consequences of the law, condemns the unprivileged to an ignorance of which the evil results can hardly be exaggerated. Obscene! What can be more essentially obscene than to insist that human beings must be conceived, not in sin as the hard old dogma runs, but by accident? The very notion is more revolting than the dirty photographs and smutty pamphlets to which the upholders of the obscenity statute point in justification of it. And yet the statute and its upholders persist. Of all the devoted men and women who have fought for the increase of reason in these concerns none better deserves a hearing than Margaret Sanger, whose "Woman and the New Race" (Brentano's) sums up the faith in which she has fought. While she lays stress upon the dangers of overpopulation as regards industrial and international wars, and discusses also the hygienic and ethical aspects of the limitation of offspring, her principal emphasis she lays upon the plight of women. In all ages they have longed for some sort of control over their maternity. Among primitive peoples, women partially free themselves by infanticide, the crime in which they most conspicuously surpass men. In modern times their recourse is rather to abortion, of which it has been estimated that there are more than a million cases a year in the United States alone. When we consider what infanticide and abortion mean to mothers, we realize the enormous will to freedom which such practices reveal. It is to this will to freedom that Mrs. Sanger pins her hope. There was a day—and that much less than a century ago—when men argued that women should not be given anaesthetics in labor because Jehovah had told Eve: "in pain thou shalt bring forth children." Yet this is not one whit more monstrous than that an unenlightened statute should deny women the right to exert a reasonable control over the function which most intimately and deeply concerns them. Mrs. Sanger would be justified in more anger than she displays in her calm, temperate, informed, sound, and winning book.

Drama

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listens a little longer and is instructed. Business is booming; the moving-picture industry is the fourth or fifth in the country; new houses for the "legitimate" drama are being built; A and B have collaborated on a play that is doing twenty thousand dollars worth of business a week. Diamonds glitter and the grape-juice flows. Still better times are predicted in which dramatists will not have to sell "outright" the "movie rights" of their Broadway successes but will have the finger of royalty in the half-million dollar pie. The age of gold is here. Art and suffering are divorced. The game is a great game. One feels like a specter at the board and, somehow, remembers one John Dryden who described himself as being "of a sullen humor" and declared: "To write unnatural things is the most probable way of pleasing them who understand not Nature." It was a sorry little trade in his time. Today it blazes like the sun at noon.

Mr. George M. Cohan's contribution to the great game of drama this season is "The Meanest Man in the World" (Hudson Theater). It begins as comedy which, as Dryden says, "presents us with the imperfections of human nature," and ends as farce which, according to the same authority, "entertains us with what is monstrous and chimerical." The central idea, that a sensitive and merciful man will cut a poor figure amid the voracities of business competition, is lost somewhere in the second act. After that a "monstrous and chimerical optimism" pleases "them who understand not Nature." The protagonist is converted to the silken amenities of the business world and the "fair fame" of commerce is saved. Mr. Cohan himself appears in the chief part and sustains throughout the evening a finished and extraordinarily intelligent characterization which survives the feeble folly of the plot.

Mr. Samuel Shipman wanted a play for Mr. Louis Mann. Also, and not unworthily in so far, a pro-Jewish play. But "The Unwritten Chapter" (Astor Theater) is a rather ugly exercise in inverted snobbishness. A young Jew, a gentleman and late officer in the A. E. F., is about to be refused the hospitality of the majestic Harringtons. He proceeds to explain casually that his people settled here before the Revolution and that he is none other than the descendant of that Haym Salomon who helped to finance the Colonies. The scene is blotted out and we are told baldly and mechanically the (in its historical aspect) admirable and important story of Haym Salomon. The epilogue shows the great Harrington appeased and delighted. What comfort there is in this empty flourish for citizens hailing from Byalistock, Tilsit, or Prague remains obscure. The dramatic value is nil.

"Bab" (Park Theater) was obviously built as a vehicle for Miss Helen Hayes, the little ingénue who made her mark in "Dear Brutus." She is here a "sub-deb"—an ill word, a vile word, with its reek of petty snobbishness and cheap pretensions. She is pert but proper; she has the conscious wildness of an angora kitten on an excessively expensive hearth-rug. As a matter of fact she is tame and conventional. This applies to the character created by Mary Roberts Rinehart. Miss Hayes does all that, under the circumstances, could be expected of her. She has great naturalness and precision of expression. Her mere technique is amazing in one so young. But to star her (*aetatis* 19) in this play is a pathetic mistake. What chance has she now to train her intelligence, to let her art ripen, or to extend its range? Who will persuade her that Bab is not a perfect character and Mrs. Rinehart not a great author?

And A. E. Thomas in "Just Suppose" (Henry Miller's Theater)! What we are to suppose is that the Prince of Wales, during his recent visit, fell in love surreptitiously with a young Virginia gentlewoman. So we are treated to a Southern mansion, the songs of Negroes at dusk, the personal delicacy of Miss Patricia Collinge, words of love on the breeze, and a noble renunciation. What a comfort the play is to the democratic consciousness of natives from Harlem and visitors from Omaha! No doubt the bosoms of American maidens glow at the supposition. Equally ingratiating is "French Leave" (Belmont Theater), a belated little war-play put on by the Coburns, who once toured the colleges with Shakespeare and Euripides, but who, having made a fortune with "The Better 'Ole," proceeded to go into business. A minor part is taken by Dallas Walford, one of the best low comedians in the world.

We touch the boundaries of another world in "The Prince and the Pauper" (Booth Theater). The old dramatization of Mark Twain's story has been softened and sweetened by Amélie Rives. But even so the mark of the lion has not been quite effaced. The dullest will not fail to perceive the fiercely democratic allegory under the gentle trappings of the plot nor lose the authentic voice of Mark Twain in the episode and bitter outcry of Mad Anthony. For the rest, as in a softened "Gulliver," there remains an altogether delightful tale for children, well-staged and well-played. Miss Ruth Findlay has much pathetic sweetness and grace and childlike sincerity in her difficult dual part; Mr. Faversham is gay and gallant and heroic; Mr. Cecil Yapp as Mad Anthony is almost too vividly real and tragic for the present version.

The musical and decorative pieces escape the condemnation of Dryden. They do not offend by a false reading of life since they pretend to none. Hence "Mary" (Knickerbocker Theater), another Cohan production, pleases the sensuous man by an unrivaled rhythmic energy and vitality, and "Afgar" (Central Theater) intoxicates the eye with dazzling masses of cloth of gold and silver and brave, fantastic shapes. A marvelous clown named Lupino Lane tumbles like a goblin, and three dancing girls flutter like petals in the wind. Such is the stuff of our aesthetic holidays.

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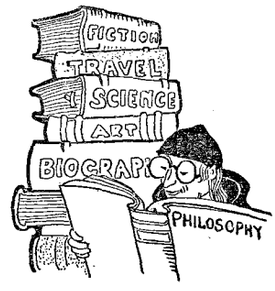

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International Relations Section

The South African Native Affairs Bill

THE following bill "to provide for the constitution of a commission and of native councils and for convening native conferences, with a view to facilitating the administration of native affairs" was introduced in the South African Parliament by General Smuts and passed by both houses.

Native Affairs Commission

I. The Governor-General may establish a commission which shall be known as the Native Affairs Commission and is hereinafter referred to as the commission. The commission shall consist of the Minister of Native Affairs (who shall be chairman), or alternatively to him some fit and proper person designated by the Minister to be deputy chairman in his absence from any meeting of the commission, and of not less than three or more than five other members. Nothwithstanding anything to the contrary in the South Africa Act, 1909, a member of either House of Parliament may be appointed a member of the commission and though he receive remuneration as such he shall not thereby be deemed to hold an office of profit under the Crown within the Union. The chairman and the deputy chairman when presiding shall have a deliberative as well as a casting vote. The names of the members of the commission shall be published in the *Gazette*.

II. The functions and duties of the commission shall include the consideration of any matter relating to the general conduct of the administration of native affairs, or to legislation in so far as it may affect the native population (other than matters of departmental administration), and the submission to the Minister of Native Affairs of its recommendations on any such matter. The commission shall also consider, and make recommendations with regard to, any matter of administrative routine submitted to it by direction of the Minister.

III. (1) If in regard to any matter the Minister does not accept the recommendation of the commission or takes any action contrary thereto the commission may require that such matter, together with a memorandum of its views thereon, be submitted to the [Governor-General-in-Council] *Governor-General*; and thereupon if the [Governor-General-in-Council] *Governor-General* does not accept the commission's recommendation the commission may require that all papers relative to the matter be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and the Minister, if such request is made, shall lay such papers before both Houses.

(2) Where a question has been decided by a casting vote of the chairman or the deputy chairman at any meeting of the commission, any member who dissented from the decision of the commission may request that his views, as stated by him in writing, shall be recorded and laid before both Houses of Parliament, and the Minister, if such request is made, shall lay the record of such member's views before such Houses.

IV. The Governor-General may make regulations prescribing the procedure at meetings of the commission, the conduct of its business, the qualifications of members, their remuneration, the period for which they shall hold office and the appointment of alternative members, and generally for giving effect to the purposes of the preceding sections.

Local and General Councils

V. The Governor-General may on the recommendation of the commission establish a local council for the whole or any portion of any of the native areas which have been set aside or may hereafter be set aside as such by Parliament. The area over which any such council is to exercise control shall be defined by proclamation in the *Gazette*. All the members of each such council shall be natives and shall not exceed nine in number and an officer in the public service may be designated by the Minister of Native Affairs to preside at meetings of any such council and generally to act in an advisory capacity in regard to it.

VI. (1) Any local council may, within the area for which it is established, provide, (a) for the construction and maintenance of roads, drains, dams, and furrows and for the prevention of erosion; (b) for an improved water supply; (c) for the suppression of diseases of stock by the construction and maintenance of dipping tanks and in any other manner whatsoever; (d) for the destruction of noxious weeds; (e) for a suitable system of sanitation; (f) for the establishment of hospitals; (g) for improvement in methods of agriculture; (h) for afforestation; (i) for educational facilities; and generally for any such purposes which can be regarded as proper to local administration, as may be committed to it by direction of the Governor-General.

(2) A local council may acquire and hold land or interest in land for carrying out any of the purposes mentioned in the preceding sub-section or for any purpose committed to it in terms of that sub-section.

VII. It shall be the duty of each local council to advise the commission in regard to any matters in so far as they may affect the general interests of the natives represented by such council, and to furnish its views upon any matter upon which the Minister or the commission may request its advice.

VIII. (1) Each local council may make by-laws in regard to any matter referred to in, or committed to it under, section VI and may prescribe the fees which shall be payable for any service rendered.

(2) Any fine imposed and recovered for a contravention of a by-law shall be paid over to the local council concerned.

(3) No such by-law shall be of force and effect until it has been approved by the Governor-General and published in the *Gazette*, and the Governor-General may, before approving a by-law, amend it or add to it other by-laws, or rescind existing by-laws.

(4) All prosecutions for contravention of such by-laws shall be at the instance of the Crown.

IX. Each local council may levy a rate not exceeding one pound in any one year upon each adult male native ordinarily resident within the area for which it is constituted:

Provided that if any native on whom such rate is leviable is liable to any direct tax payable to the Government and specially imposed upon natives, such tax shall be abated by the amount of the rate levied hereunder.

X. The revenue of each local council shall be, (a) any amounts collected under the last proceding section; (b) all fees collected under any by-law; (c) all fines recovered for a contravention of any by-law; (d) any donations or grants of public moneys.

XI. The Governor-General may make regulations applying either generally or in particular areas, (a) providing for the consultation of the inhabitants of areas for which a council is to be established, and for the selection or election of members of such councils; (b) providing for the periods of office and remuneration of such members; (c) prescribing the procedure of councils and the conduct of their business; (d) providing for the appointment and duties of officers of councils; (e) prescribing the method according to which rates and fees shall be collected and brought to account, the exemptions which may be allowed, and the penalties to be imposed on persons failing to pay such rates and fees, and generally for the better carrying out of any provisions of this Act relating to local councils.

XII. Any local council may in any legal proceedings in a court of law sue or be sued in the name of its chairman.

XIII. If the application of this Act in any area for which a council is appointed is found to conflict with any system of local government established by law in that area, the Governor-General may, by proclamation in the *Gazette*, declare the

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extent to which any such system shall apply in that area and may make such provisions as in the circumstances he may deem expedient for reconciling the conflict between such application and such system.

XIV. Whenever it appears that any of the powers conferred by this Act upon local councils can, in any two or more areas for which local councils have been established, be more advantageously exercised by a body with jurisdiction over all those areas, the Governor-General may, upon the recommendation of the commission, establish such a body to be called the general council of such areas. Such general council shall consist of such number of representatives from each of the said local councils as the Governor-General, upon the advice of the commission, may determine, but an officer in the public service may be designated by the Minister of Native Affairs to act as chairman of the general council. The chairman of each of the said local councils shall, if required by the Minister of Native Affairs, attend the meetings of the general council in an advisory capacity. The general council so established shall have in respect of the areas for which it is established such of the powers conferred by this Act upon local councils as the Governor-General, upon the advice of the commission, may allocate to it, and, subject to such allocation, the provisions of sections VI to XIII inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* in respect of such a general council. The local councils within the area of a general council to which any of the powers conferred by this Act are allocated shall, as from the date of such allocation, cease to exercise such powers as have been allocated in the manner aforesaid.

XV. Any person contravening any by-law or regulation made under this Act shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding five pounds, or, in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

NATIVE CONFERENCES

XVI. (1) The Governor-General may, upon the recommendation of the commission, convene conferences of chiefs, members of native councils or local councils, and prominent natives, and of native delegates invited from any association or union purporting to represent any native political or economic interest, with a view to the ascertainment of the sentiments of the native population of the Union or of any part thereof, in regard to any measure in so far as it may affect such population.

(2) Such conferences shall be assisted in their deliberations by persons to be designated by the Minister of Native Affairs, who is hereby empowered to authorize any expenditure which he may consider desirable in this connection from moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose.

XVII. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Native Affairs Act, 1920.

Native Labor in East Africa

THE following extracts on the subject of native labor in East Africa are taken from a British White Paper presented to Parliament in August, 1920.

I.

LABOR CIRCULAR NO. 1.

NAIROBI, 23rd October, 1919.

1. There appears to be still considerable shortage of labor in certain areas due to reluctance of the tribesmen to come out into the labor field; as it is the wish of Government that they should do so, His Excellency desires once again to bring the matter to the notice of provincial and district commissioners, and at the same time to state that he sincerely hopes that by an insistent advocacy of the Government's wishes in this connection an increasing supply of labor will result.

2. His Excellency trusts that those officers who are in charge of what is termed labor supplying districts are doing what they can to induce an augmentation of the supply of labor for the various farms and plantations in the Protectorate, and he feels assured that all officers will agree with him that the larger and more continuous the flow of labor is from the reserves the more satisfactory will be the relations as between the native people and the settlers and between the latter and the Government.

3. The necessity for an increased supply of labor cannot be brought too frequently before the various native authorities, nor can they be too often reminded that it is in their own interests to see that their young men become wage earners and do not remain idle for the greater part of the year. They should be informed that the Government is now taking steps to keep all native laborers while out of their reserves under supervision, and the conditions of camps, etc., regularly inspected.

4. In continuation of previous communications on this very important subject, His Excellency desires to reiterate certain of his wishes and to add further instructions as follows:

a. All Government officials in charge of native areas must exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labor field. Where farms are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for such labor as they can perform.

b. Native chiefs and elders must at all times render all possible lawful assistance on the foregoing lines. They should be repeatedly reminded that it is part of their duty to advise and encourage all unemployed young men in the areas under their jurisdiction to go out and work on plantations. They should be encouraged to visit plantations where their people are employed.

c. District commissioners will keep a record of the names of those chiefs and headmen who are helpful and of those who are not helpful and will make reports to me from time to time for the information of His Excellency. The nature of these reports will be communicated to the chiefs. In cases where there is evidence that any Government headman is impervious to His Excellency's wishes the fact should be reported to me for His Excellency's information together with any recommendations you may desire to make.

d. District commissioners will, as often as occasion requires, hold public meetings at convenient centers to be attended by the native authorities. At these meetings labor requirements, places at which labor is offered, nature of work, and rates of pay must be explained. District commissioners will invite employers or their agents to attend such meetings.

e. Employers or their agents requiring native labor will be invited and encouraged to enter freely any native reserve and there get in touch with the chiefs, headmen, and natives.

f. Requirements of native labor for Government Departments should be met as far as possible from the more remote areas which do not at present supply an appreciable number of men for labor on plantations.

5. His Excellency instructs me to state that constant endeavors will be made by this Government to obtain labor from the adjacent conquered territory in order that the supply of native labor in this country may be augmented. The native authorities might be informed of this and it be pointed out to them that should any considerable number of natives be so introduced into this country it will probably mean less money going into our native districts.

6. It is hoped that the Resident Natives Ordinance, 1918, and the Natives Registration Ordinance, 1915, will soon become operative. The provisions of these ordinances should help to ameliorate the position.

7. Should the labor difficulties continue it may be necessary to bring in other and special measures to meet the case; it is hoped, however, that insistence on the foregoing lines will have appreciable effect.

JOHN AINSWORTH, Chief Native Commissioner.

II.

THE BISHOPS' MEMORANDUM.

A recent memorandum, from the Chief Native Commissioner, published in the East African papers, October 27, 1919, gives

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rise to serious thought. With the main purpose of that memorandum, the prevention of idleness, and the meeting, by all legitimate means, of the demand for necessary labor, we are in entire accord. Labor must be forthcoming if the country is to be developed as it should.

There are, however, certain features in the memorandum which seem to us to be open to grave objection.

"Forced labor"—like slavery—is an ugly term, and suggests a great deal more than it necessarily involves. "Compulsory labor" has a less repugnant sound to British ears; but even this term rouses suspicion, and is therefore generally avoided. It is carefully avoided throughout this memorandum. But while the *term* nowhere finds a place, how far the thing is suggested is certainly open to question.

The Government is up against an undoubted difficulty. On the one hand the country has been thrown open to settlers. They have poured in, are pouring in, and will pour in in increasing numbers. Every one of these settlers is a potential employer of labor, many of them on a large scale; all of them depend, for their very existence as farmers, on native labor. On the other hand there is the native population, a large but limited source of supply, living in their own native reserves, hardly as yet accustomed to travel outside in search of employment.

Hitherto the Government has stood between the two, in its proper role of governor of both, has granted facilities to employers of labor to recruit, but has steadily refused to compel natives to work for the private benefit of European settlers. The difficulty has become acute, increasing pressure is being brought to bear upon the Government to induce it to reconsider its native policy, and use its influence in inducing the native population to meet the demand of the labor market. In the present memorandum technically no "compulsion" is to be exercised, but "It is the wish of the Government that natives should come out into the labor field." To the native mind a hint and an order on the part of the Government are indistinguishable, particularly when the Governor himself calls upon the administrative officials, provincial commissioners, and district commissioners, to exercise "an insistent advocacy of the Government's wishes in this connection." No district commissioner can mistake the significance of these terms. If any doubt should remain, the "wishes" of paragraph 1 have, in paragraph 4, developed into definite "instructions": "All permanent officials in charge of native areas must exercise *every possible lawful influence to induce* able-bodied male natives to go into the labor field." Such influence, from such a quarter, acting on a primitive people, will unquestionably "induce" many natives to go out into the labor field.

But if the work of thus influencing potential laborers were confined to British officials, little harm might be done. It is when the further step is taken, and native chiefs are charged with the business of recruiting labor, that the door is flung wide open to almost any abuse. In the words of the memorandum, "The necessity for an increased supply of labor cannot be brought too frequently before the various native authorities." Again: "Native chiefs and elders must at all times render all possible lawful assistance on the foregoing lines. They should be reminded that it is *part of their duty to advise* and encourage all unemployed young men in the areas under their jurisdiction to go out and work on *plantations*." The italics throughout are our own, but no one who knows anything of native life can have a moment's doubt as to what will be the effect on a native chief who is told by his district officer that he must do a certain thing, and that it is part of his duty as a chief to do it. The words "advise" and "encourage" will, in such circumstances, acquire a very sinister meaning. The advice given and the encouragement afforded by the native chiefs will take a very practical form.

If any chief should show any reluctance to carry out his instructions, he too is to be induced, in a very practical way, to take action. "District commissioners will keep a record of the names of those chiefs and headmen who are helpful and of those who are not helpful, and will make report to me (the Chief Native Commissioner) from time to time for the information of His Excellency. The nature of those reports will be communicated to the chiefs. In cases where there is evidence that any Government headman is impervious to His Excellency's wishes, the fact should be reported to me for His Excellency's information together with any recommendation he may desire to make." He would be a bold chief who, in the face of the foregoing, refused to carry out the Government's "wishes" in this matter. The suggestion in the case of any recalcitrant chief suggests that the capacity to send men into the labor market is to be the test of the efficiency or inefficiency of a chief. We confess we do not like this.

Nor does the memorandum confine itself to able-bodied men. "When farms are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for such labor as they can perform." This forms part of the instructions issued by the Government to its officials. Such instructions cannot but give rise to anxiety.

A circular, issued by the District Commissioner Kyambu, 17th October, 1919, shows that this anxiety is only too well founded. The circular reads as follows: "As I understand that a considerable amount of additional labor will shortly be required to get in the coffee crop, and as in view of this I intend to arrange for a temporary supply of child labor from the reserves, I shall be glad if any coffee growers who may like to employ these children will write his name hereon, stating the number required, the time for which they may be most needed." Against such temporary employment of such children as voluntarily go to the plantations to help in the picking of coffee we have not a word to say; but we may fairly ask whether it is the business of the district officer to arrange for such supply of child labor, what will be the effect on native education of such action, and what actual steps would be taken by the district officer or by the native authorities to secure the services of these children?

With regard to the whole memorandum there are certain observations which should be made.

It introduces *compulsory labor*. Whether this is a good thing or a bad thing we are not now concerned to say. We confine ourselves for the moment to the fact. Labor may be made compulsory in one of three ways: by force of circumstances, as in civilized countries; by law, as with ourselves during the war; or by official pressure, which stops short of actual command, but aims at securing the identical results. Without the sanction of definite enactment, no native chief, who is told that it is the wish of the Government that he should find labor, who has the matter insistently brought before him, who is reminded that this is part of his official duty, and who is periodically reported as one who is helpful or not helpful to the Government in this respect, can or will mistake the meaning of it all. He must and will, to the limit of his powers, compel his people to go out to work; technically, there is no compulsion; practically, compulsion could hardly take a stronger form.

The memorandum apparently assumes that the choice lies between useful work done for the European and idleness in the reserves. No one who has lived in a native reserve will deny that there are days or months of practical idleness; but no one who has lived in a reserve and had the opportunity of closely watching native life but will realize that the native has also his months of strenuous work, cultivating and planting, harvesting, building, etc. The native has also his home, his crops, and his plans for development. The demands on his time may not be constant, but they are insistent. To leave his own plantation, perhaps at a critical time, for the benefit of some one else's plantation; to leave his house unthatched, his crops unreaped, his wife unguarded perhaps for months at a time, in return for cash which he does not want on the "advice" of his chief—which he dare not disregard—is not a prospect calculated to inspire loyalty to the Government from whom the advice emanates. . . .

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The decision to "encourage" women and children to labor, bearing in mind the meaning that will inevitably be read into the word "encourage," seems to us a dangerous policy. The children below a certain age should be at home or at school. The women must work at home; the plantation, the supply of the daily food, the cooking, the care of the children and of the home depend upon the mothers and wives. To "encourage," as a native headman (with the fear of dismissal behind him) would "encourage," women and girls to go out from their homes into neighboring plantations would be to court disaster, physical and moral. Whatever labor legislation is introduced, the women and children at any rate must be left out of it. . . .

R. S. MOMBASA, J. J. UGANDA, J. W. ARTHUR,
Church of Scotland Mission.

III.

LABOR CIRCULAR No. 2.

NAIROBI, 17th February, 1920.

1. With reference to Circular 1 of the 23rd October, 1919, circulated to provincial commissioners and district commissioners it would appear that different officers have construed the meaning and intention in various ways.

2. In particular there would appear to be a difference of opinion as regards the intentions of the contents of paragraph 4. a. of the circular referred to. The wording of this part of the circular would appear to leave little room for doubt. As, however, there would appear to be some doubt in certain minds it may be advantageous to amplify the matter as follows:

"Every possible lawful influence" means that officials including chiefs and headmen should at all times remind natives within their jurisdiction that it is in every way desirable for them to go out into the labor fields, and that unemployment in a reserve is highly undesirable. There is no intention that officers or chiefs and headmen should become recruiters of labor, nor is it intended that men should be directed or ordered to proceed to particular employers, but there is the intention to induce the men by all lawful means to seek work. The elders should also be induced to adopt an attitude of refusing to allow their sons to remain idle. When unemployed young men are found in a reserve inquiries should be made as to what they are doing, and as to whether they have paid their poll tax. Normally the tax due by the young men should be paid by them individually. No actual force can be employed to compel a man to go out to work; he can, however, be forced to pay his tax. It is quite understood that the majority of district commissioners do follow out the foregoing procedure, and that in certain cases the result is for the moment deemed to be unsatisfactory and that consequently officers despair of achieving success. It is felt, however, that insistence will gradually achieve ever increasing results, hence this attempt at reiteration.

JOHN AINSWORTH, Chief Native Commissioner.

IV.

LABOR CIRCULAR No. 3.

NAIROBI, 14th July, 1920.

Reference Labor Circular No. 1 of 23rd October, 1919.

1. Representations having been made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the effect that the circular referred to above may lead to abuse, His Excellency deems it advisable to emphasize certain points in order to prevent misconception.

2. The principle underlying the circular is contained in the third paragraph, viz., that it is in the interests of the natives themselves for the young men to become wage earners and not to remain idle in their reserves for a large part of the year. The native authorities are therefore to exercise all lawful and proper influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labor field, and it is their duty to advise and encourage all unemployed young men under their jurisdiction to seek work on plantations.

3. While it is the duty of administrative officers to see that the native chiefs fully understand and carry out what is required of them by the Government in this matter, it is equally their duty to see that the native chiefs do not abuse their authority. Care must therefore be taken to insure that the native chiefs do not make any call upon them for labor the occasion either for favoritism or for oppression, and in particular that they do not attempt to bring pressure to bear upon men whose labor is needed for the cultivation of their own land in the reserves.

4. It has been directed that where farms are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for such labor as they can perform. It must be distinctly understood that such women and children must return to their homes at night: only when the husband is employed and living on the plantation should families be allowed to remain there at night.

5. Finally, it must be clearly understood that it is a duty of first importance for administrative officers and other Government officials concerned to exercise vigilance in regard to the Masters and Servants (Amendment) Ordinance, 1919, and to insure that the provisions of this Ordinance are strictly observed.

V.

DOWNING STREET, 22nd July, 1920.

SIR:

. . . I recognize that the problem of native labor in the East Africa Protectorate is one of the most difficult with which you were confronted when you assumed the governorship of the Protectorate early last year; it is a problem which has engaged, and will, I know, continue to engage the most careful attention of your Government and yourself, and I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my entire confidence in your determination to pursue a policy which is strictly in accord with the wishes of His Majesty's Government, and which aims at the advancement and well-being of the native races in the Protectorate no less than the meeting of the settlers' requirements.

The criticisms of your action which have come to my notice are mainly due to the fear that "forced labor" or "compulsory labor" is being adopted by the Protectorate Government for supplying the needs of private employers. I have on a recent occasion referred in Parliament to the Native Authority Amendment Ordinance, 1920, in accordance with which natives may be required to perform certain paid labor for the Government, e.g., for the Government Transport Department and for work on the construction or maintenance of railways, roads, and other work of a public nature, subject to the express provisos that no native shall be required to perform such work for more than sixty days in any one year and that any native who is fully employed in any other occupation or has been so employed during the preceding twelve months for a period of three months shall be exempted from such labor. To this extent I have agreed to compulsory labor for Government purposes, as I am satisfied that the position justified the measure. It will be observed that the provisions of this ordinance do in fact meet the conditions laid down in the memorandum sent to you by the Bishop of Mombasa on the 1st of November last when forwarding the views of himself and the Bishop of Uganda and other leading missionaries in East Africa. But I desire to make it clear that I should not be prepared to go further in regard to compulsory labor for the Government nor indeed do I think that you would wish to extend the principle. It has been suggested that the native should have the right to commute for payment of additional taxation the labor otherwise required of him under the ordinance. I have not had the advantage of discussing this point with you personally; but as at present advised I should not be disposed to accept the suggestion. In other parts of tropical Africa a system of rebates on taxation for labor performed has been in force from time to time; but, apart from the somewhat complicated machinery which is needed for the working of the system, I understand that the natives are themselves opposed to it, on the ground that they prefer to know precisely

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what their obligations are in respect of annual taxes, without any qualification as to rebates in certain circumstances. If the option of payment of cash in lieu of the labor required by Government were granted, it would introduce exactly such an element of uncertainty in the native mind as to his total obligations for the year.

As regards compulsory labor for private employment, there could of course be no question of entertaining any proposals which involve this principle, and I know there has never been any intention on your part either to suggest or to countenance it. Needless to say, such a policy would be absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government, and I should not have thought it necessary even to mention it, had it not been that the policy embodied in the circular of the 23rd of October, 1919, has been misinterpreted as implying this principle. I have no doubt, however, that the further explanatory circular, which you have now issued, will have dispelled any misgivings on this point, which is one of fundamental importance, and I trust that it will now be clear to all that there is no question of force or compulsion, but only of encouragement and advice through the native chiefs and headmen. With such a policy I find myself in entire agreement, provided that the safeguards against abuse are—as I am satisfied that they are—adequate. On the other hand, from the point of view of the natives, I do not hesitate to accept your opinion, which my own experience corroborates, that in their own interests they should seek outside employment when not engaged on work in their own reserves, and that, as stated in the second circular, it is desirable that the young, able-bodied men should become wage-earners and should not remain idle in the reserves for a large part of the year. . . . On the other hand, from the point of view of the settler, it is necessary that there should be an adequate supply of labor, if he is to develop his holdings, and in my opinion the Protectorate Government would be failing in its duty if it did not use all lawful and reasonable means to encourage the supply of labor for the settlers who have embarked on enterprises calculated to assist not only the Protectorate itself but also this country and other parts of the Empire by the production of raw materials which are in demand.

It has been objected that the principle of working through the native chiefs and headmen is unsound, and that this system is liable to most serious abuse. It cannot be denied that a native chief may attempt to abuse his authority, and experience will show whether in fact this does often occur; but I believe that with the exercise of due watchfulness by the Government officials, this tendency, if it does manifest itself, can be promptly checked. The principle, however, is in my opinion right, inasmuch as it has long been the policy of the Government to work in native affairs, as far as possible, through the native chiefs and headmen and to maintain the tribal organization; and I feel sure that you would share my reluctance to take action which would tend to weaken rather than to strengthen the position of the tribal chiefs and headmen. Again, strong exception has been taken to the directions in the fourth paragraph of the circular of the 23rd of October, 1919, as to the keeping of records of the way in which native chiefs and headmen carry out the general instructions of the Government. I have no doubt that this criticism is based on a misconception; otherwise, it is difficult to see how it could be supposed that there is anything unreasonable in the Government requiring the cooperation of its subordinate officials. . . .

It has been overlooked, I think, in certain of the criticisms directed against the policy embodied in the circular that the Government does not contemplate obtaining native labor for a particular employer, and that the native is free to choose, assuming that he is willing to leave his reserve and work, where and for whom he will work. This is important, inasmuch as the results must be that a good master who acquires a reputation for treating his laborers with justice and consideration should have little or no difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of labor; and that there should be no fear of natives employed outside their reserves being ill-treated or ill-cared for, quite apart from the strict legal safeguards contained in the Master and Servants Ordinances. Provided, therefore, that the Government by judicious advice through the native chiefs and headmen can start the flow of labor, it may be hoped that in the natural course of events a greater number of natives will realize the advantages of working for the wages which employment brings, and that as their knowledge and their wants increase, they will appreciate the need for more employment and more wages to satisfy those wants, so that the supply of labor should become continuous. . . .

The encouragement of native women and children to take up employment has been strongly criticized, but in this respect the methods of employment and the intention of the circular of the 23rd of October, 1919, have clearly been misunderstood. The explanatory statement in the second circular will make it clear that women and children must return to their homes at night, and that only when the husband is employed and living on the plantation should his family be permitted to remain there at night. It is possible that it has not been realized that the labor performed by women and children is, in almost every case, coffee-picking, which is paid as piece work by results, and that it is a form of labor which is popular among the women and children, as they can earn good wages by this light work in half a day, and are then free to return to their homes.

Finally, objection has been taken to the fifth paragraph of the circular of the 23rd of October, 1919, relative to your desire to obtain a supply of labor from the adjacent Tanganyika Territory. Although no mandate has yet been received for the Tanganyika Territory, there is, in my opinion, nothing inconsistent with the spirit of the mandatory system in the recruitment of voluntary labor in the Tanganyika Territory for paid employment in the East Africa Protectorate. Before the war, when the Tanganyika Territory was a German possession, Wanyamwezi labor flowed into the British Protectorate; and provided that there is now in the Tanganyika Territory a surplus of labor over and above that required in the Territory itself, I see no reason to interfere with the recruitment of natives who desire to cross the border and earn wages. You will, however, note the important proviso that, if the Territory can absorb all its available native labor, no recruitment should be allowed for the East Africa Protectorate. I understand from the Administrator that at present there is a surplus, but that it is probably temporary. Under these circumstances, I have informed you that I approve of the recruitment of voluntary labor from that Territory subject to the limitation of the period of employment to six months in the first instance, and subject, of course, to your making satisfactory arrangements to insure proper feeding, clothing, transport, accommodation, and medical attention, and on the understanding that the natives who are recruited may be accompanied by their women if they so desire. It has been arranged that the labor from the Tanganyika Territory is to be employed by the Government only, thus reducing the requirements of the Government of the East Africa Protectorate by an equivalent number of natives of the Protectorate, of whom it may be assumed that a proportion at least will be willing to offer themselves for work with private employers.

MILNER.

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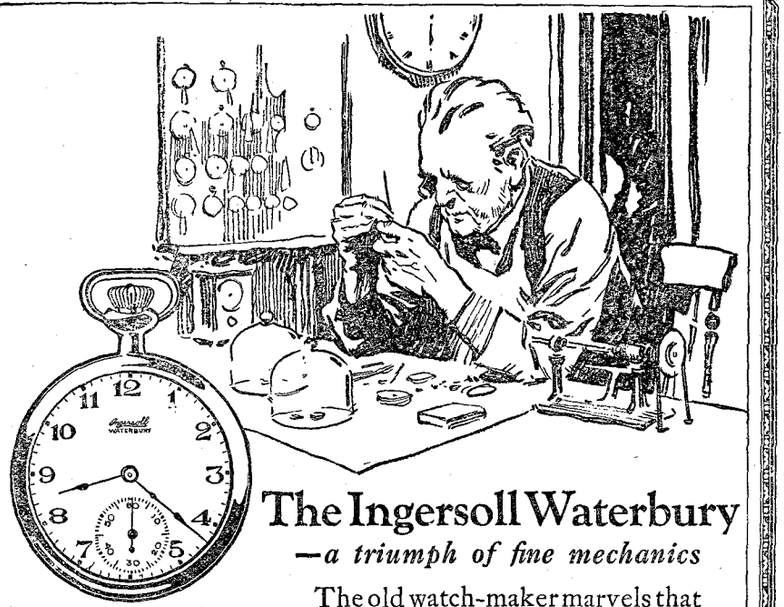

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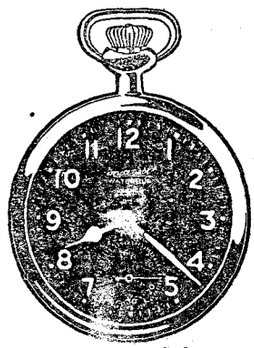

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